



HISTORY OF THE GIRTYS

BEING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE GIRTY BROTHERS—
THOMAS, SIMON, JAMES AND GEORGE, AND OF THEIR
HALF-BROTHER, JOHN TURNER—ALSO OF THE PART
TAKEN BY THEM IN LORD DUNMORE'S WAR, IN
THE WESTERN BORDER WAR OF THE REVOLU-
TION, AND IN THE INDIAN WAR OF 1790-95

WITH A RECITAL OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE WEST DURING
THESE WARS, DRAWN FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES,
LARGELY ORIGINAL

BY

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Col. William Crawford in 1782," etc.



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PREFACE.

It adds much to the pleasure of an author, in writing biographies of persons, to be in sympathy with them; but this occasionally results in unmerited praise. On the other hand, where the writer pursues his self-imposed labor with a feeling of antagonism, unjust detraction may ensue.

While it is true that an extended notice of the three Girtys—Simon, James, and George—was undertaken because of the notoriety they had obtained, yet the principal reason for prosecuting this work to a final completion has been that there is an apparent necessity for our Western annals to be freed, so far as may be, from error, every-where permeating them as to the part actually taken by these brothers—particularly Simon—in many of the important events which, to a considerable extent, make up the history of the Trans-Alleghany country.

It is because so many “conflicting statements” have heretofore been published concerning the Girtys—sometimes, however, in fragmentary form, but generally incorporated in Western historical works—that, along with the accounts of them in these pages, are also given brief sketches of the principal occurrences in which they took part to a greater or less extent. These events are drawn from authentic sources, largely original; and as they are interwoven with the life-record of the three brothers, they are arranged, of course, in chronological order. This book, then, is historical as well as biographical. And it may here be added that the author has kept constantly in mind one object as paramount to all others—the statement of facts, as he understands them.

To confine these pages, however, to a bare mention of occurrences, giving the name of the Girty who took part in any particular one, would be simply to make a dry chronological record; this might be useful, but it would not be entertaining. If it should appear that Simon’s name, during the Revolution, became a household word of terror all along the Western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the reader will naturally want to know the *reason why*. Details, therefore, become necessary. We shall see that not only Simon, but James and George, were cognizant of, or participants in

many of those events which make the history of our country so full of interest. Their lives, from boyhood to old age, were indeed "tragically romantic."

Pennsylvanians by birth, they were prisoners to the Indians in the old French war. Simon was a noted scout in Lord Dunmore's war; and he, with his two brothers before named, was actively engaged in the interest of Britain during the last five years of the Revolution. In the Indian war of 1790-95, Simon and George aided the savages—the former in a way especially effective. But what has given the three brothers particular notoriety was their warring against their countrymen in connection with the Indians, from 1778 to 1783, inclusive.

An interest in another of the Girty brothers—Thomas—and a half-brother—John Turner—is awakened because of the bearing their lives have upon the career of their three more noted relatives. Therefore it is that they, too, are noticed at some length in the pages following. Other members of the family are mentioned—only, however, in an incidental manner.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to Douglas Brymner, Esq., of Ottawa, Canada, for promptly furnishing whatever copies have been called for of the transcripts of the Haldimand Papers in his charge as Public Archivist. The extent of the obligation I am under to him for this courtesy can be best understood by observing the number of citations from these Papers which hereafter occur.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

OMAHA, *March*, 1890.

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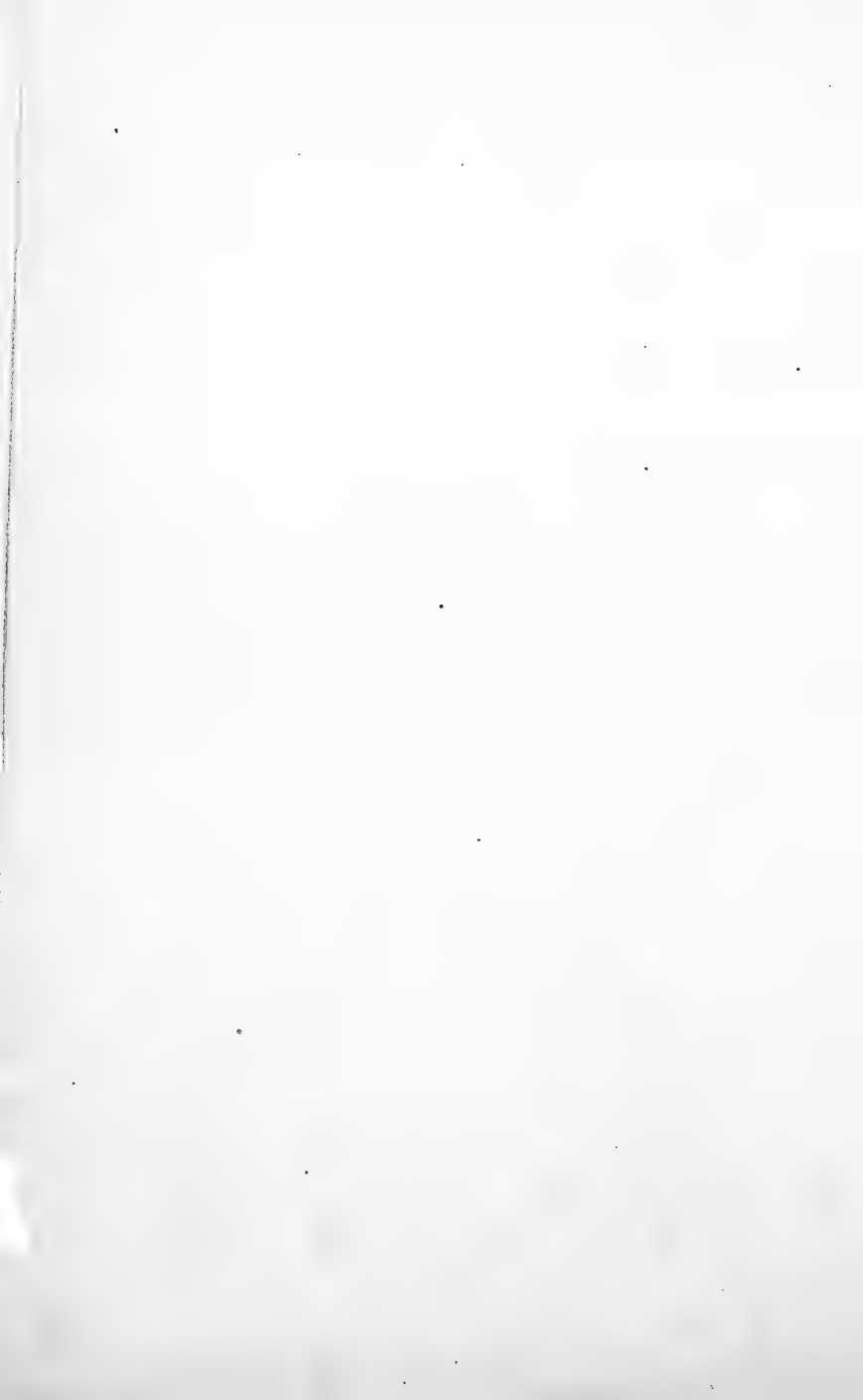
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HISTORY OF THE GIRTYS.

CHAPTER I.

On the Susquehanna river, there lived, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, upon the soil of what was then Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, an Irishman, whose name was Simon Girty — sometimes written, in early accounts, "Girte;" sometimes, "Girtee;" and frequently, "Gerty." At least one writer has declared, though erroneously, that the word is a corruption of "Guthrie."*

Girty emigrated from the Emerald Isle at middle age, engaging, soon after his arrival in America, and in the province just named, in the Indian trade, in the employment of pack-horse driver. Subsequently, after he had saved enough of his earnings to go into business for himself in trafficking with the Indians, he married Mary Newton, an English girl.† Of previous events in her life, nothing whatever is known. Girty was married about the year 1737. His first child, named Thomas, was born in 1739.‡ The birth of a second child, called Simon after the father, was in 1741.§ A third son—

* Charles Cist, in *Cincinnati Miscellany*, Vol. I, p. 126.

† *Registres des Baptêmes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort Duquesne*. Pendant les années 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756. New York, 1859. pp. 43, 44.

The writer of this narrative, by putting reliance upon an erroneous traditionary account, states, in a letter published some years since, that the maiden name of Mrs. Girty was Crosby. See *History of Clark County, Ohio*, pp. 377, 378.

‡ In *Niles's Weekly Register*, Vol. XIX, p. 262, the year 1731 is incorrectly given as the date of Thomas Girty's birth.

§ It is declared by John MacLeod, in the *Amherstburg (Canada) Echo*, of November 21, 1884 (*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VII, p. 123;

James—was born in 1743. The birth of George, the fourth child, was in 1745. There were no daughters.*

It is certain that the home of the Girty family, at least from the date of the birth of their first child, was at Chambers's Mill, on the east side of the Susquehanna, above Harris's—that is, above the site of the present city of Harrisburg—then in the county of Lancaster, in that portion which has since been formed into Dauphin county. The place was familiarly known, at that period, as "Chambers's, in Paxtang."

Five miles above Harrisburg, there empties into the Susquehanna, on the eastern side, a small stream, called Fishing creek. At the mouth, or, rather, several hundred yards from it, at an early day, at least prior to 1730, several brothers of the name of Chambers erected a mill, hence, the name of the place—"Chambers's Mill." It was this family of Chambers that settled Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1736. During the French and Indian war, a fort, or stockade, was built at Chambers's Mill, named "Fort Hunter." This was subsequently called "McAllister's;" it is yet known as "Fort Hunter."† Chambers's Mill was a settlement not famous for its morality. Indeed, it had few, if any, rivals, for its wickedness, in the province.‡

Of those who lived at Chambers's and in its vicinity, employed, as was Simon Girty, Sr., in the Indian trade, the names of several have been preserved, some of whom were then (and others afterward became) noted in their calling; but, in that class, "Girtee," of "Paxtang," can not be reckoned. Of Indian traders, licensed from the 10th of August, 1747, to

Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 256), that Simon Girty, Jr., was born in 1744; but this is error.

* There is a tradition afloat in Essex county, Canada, which I have met with, to the effect that the Girty boys above mentioned had a sister; but this is clearly erroneous.

† Compare Rupp's *History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties (Pa.)*, pp. 59, 80; also, Egle's *History of Dauphin County*, pp. 50, 51.

‡ Consult, in this connection, *An Account of the Life of the Late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd*. Boston, 1749. p. 200.

the same day of the next year, the list is extant; also, of those not licensed; among the latter is found the name of Girty.* However, there is no evidence that he fell into the clutches of the law for his dereliction; as, on the 10th of August, 1748, he received the proper authority to traffic with the savages; when, it is probable, the amount of license for the year previous was paid.

The home of Girty, at this time, was on the confines of civilization; nevertheless, the "course of empire" was "westward," across the Susquehanna—"beyond the Endless mountains, on Juniata, on Sherman's creek, and elsewhere," to the great uneasiness of the Indians, for more than thirty families of white people, in the spring of 1749, had settled on their lands.†

The number of adventurers increased, and the Indians became thoroughly alarmed. They demanded their removal. Pennsylvania could not do otherwise than to comply with the wishes of the savages; but it was resolved to try peaceable measures—warnings to the interlopers—and, if these failed, force would be employed. So the sheriff of Lancaster county, and three magistrates, with a government agent, were sent to the Trans-Susquehanna settlements to warn the people to leave immediately. Little heed was given to their words. Not only were there no returns to the east bank, but settlers continued to arrive. Among these, in 1749, was Simon Girty, Sr., and family, from Chambers's. He settled on Sherman's creek, in what is now Perry county. But his career as a farmer was suddenly cut short.

On the 22d of May, 1750, eight provincials, good and true men, appointed by the government, and accompanied by an under-sheriff of the county (Cumberland), proceeded "by force of arms," to carry out the wishes of the Indians. The first settlement reached contained five log cabins. The occupants were taken into custody, and the houses burned.

* For the entire list of "Indian Traders Lyncensed" and "Unlycensed," see *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, Vol. II, p. 14.

† *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, Vol. II, p. 24.

Thence, the valorous nine proceeded to Sherman's creek, where they found, besides Girty, nine other trespassers. The ten were taken also into custody. It was found that each had settled upon a separate tract of land, and erected a cabin thereon. The houses, like those in the first settlement visited, were burned to the ground. Each settler was bound in a recognizance of one hundred pounds to appear and answer for his trespass on the first day of the next county court, which was to be held at Shippensburg.* In view of all the circumstances, this violation of the law on the part of Girty and the others can not be set down greatly to their discredit. The former returned to Chambers's. It was the last of his farming operations.

Girty was not free from the vice, which every-where prevailed upon the border, of drinking too much. It is a tradition, long since hardened into print, and many times repeated, that he was "beastly intemperate;" that a "jug of whisky was the extent of his ambition;" and that "grog was his song, and grog would he have." This, however, is overdrawn. He would have his sprees, but he was not an habitual drunkard, although, after his return with his family to Chambers's, an end was put to his existence, remotely, by his indulgence. Concerning his final "taking off," the same tradition is also at fault. It is asserted that "his hours were wasted in idleness and intemperance, and he was finally knocked on the head by a neighboring boor, who bore off Mrs. Girty as a trophy of his prowess."† Another published statement is, that he had a difficulty with a neighbor. Girty challenged him. They met; rifles were used; but both missed. They were then

* Rupp's History of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties (Pa.), p. 555.

† This tradition was first given to the public in the Missouri Gazette, of May 7, 1814; then in "The Girtys," in John W. Campbell's Biographical Sketches (Columbus, Ohio, 1838), p. 147. From the latter it has been frequently copied. Campbell drew for his article wholly from the Gazette. In the supplement to Vol. IX, of Niles's Weekly Register, p. 181, the Gazette article is given verbatim, but with credit.

furnished with swords by their seconds and Girty fell mortally wounded—run through his body by the weapon of his antagonist.

So much for traditionary accounts. The following are the facts: He was killed, in a drunken frolic, by an Indian named "The Fish," at his home, about the ending of the year 1751.* While, therefore, he received his death-wound at the hand of a savage, it can not be said, as some accounts have it, that he was "killed by the Indians"—the inference being that he was the victim of a war-party, marauding in the white settlements.†

The killing of Girty was a deed which must needs be avenged, and the avenger was at hand. His name was John Turner. He lived with Girty. To make things equal, he put an end to the existence of "The Fish"—the murderer of his friend. So, in the backwoods, justice was satisfied. It was the law of—an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth; a life for a life. But Turner must have his reward; and he married, in Paxtang, early in 1753, Mrs. Girty, the widow, a woman of unblemished character. At the commencement of 1754, a son was born of this union, who was named John,‡ after his father.

About six months subsequent to this event, the lands in Sherman's Valley, and on the Juniata, besides much other, were purchased, by the Penns, of the Indians, and a land office opened for their sale, on the 3d of February, 1755. §

Immigration quickly began to make rapid strides into the

* See, as to the name of the Indian who killed Girty, Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 257. It is erroneously asserted by Theodore Roosevelt (The Winning of the West, Vol. I, p. 96), that Girty was tortured at the stake—tomahawked, finally, by a papoose held up by its father for that purpose.

† See Sparks's Library of American Biography, Second Series, Vol. XIII (Peck's Life of Boone), p. 109, note.

‡ Registres des Baptesmes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort Duquesne, loc. cit.

§ Wright's History of Perry County, Pennsylvania, pp. 13, 14. The deed from the Indians was dated July 6, 1754.

Trans-Susquehanna region. Well had it been had the pioneers postponed their coming. Among those who crossed the river into Sherman's Valley was John Turner and family. He took up his residence near where Simon Girty, Sr., had previously located.*

There was now open war between France and England. Braddock's defeat, in July, 1755, was a humiliating blow to the power last named. The savages of the West—allies of the French—were soon murdering and burning in the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. In the province first mentioned, these marauds were carried on far down the streams which, on the west, enter the Susquehanna. Forts, as they were called, were erected in various places for the security of the inhabitants. Among these was one called Fort Granville. It was located at Old Town, on the bank of the Juniata, not a great distance from the present sight of Lewistown, then in Cumberland county, now Mifflin. Its position was unfavorable.

Already had more than a score of persons been killed or carried off by the Indians. "Thereupon," so runs the record, "on the 23d of October, 1755, forty-six of the inhabitants on Susquehanna, about Harris' Ferry, went to Shamokin [the Forks of the Susquehanna], to inquire of the Indians there who they were that had so cruelly fallen upon and ruined the settlement." The result of this mission of inquiry was most disastrous. On their return from Shamokin, they were fired upon by some Indians who lay in ambush, and four were shot, four drowned, and the rest put to flight.

It would be foreign to the object in view in this narrative, to enter into particulars concerning the devastation upon the frontiers which followed. Our story, for the present, must center at one point, and that point Fort Granville.

Sometime during the month of July, 1756, a party was made up at Fort Duquesne, "at the forks of the Ohio," where

* Not "on the Juniata," as stated in the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 257.

now stands Pittsburgh, consisting of twenty-three Frenchmen, and thirty Indians, under the command of Neyon de Villiers, for a maraud into the back settlements of Pennsylvania, or to attack some of the forts therein.* De Villiers's band was reinforced up the Alleghany by nearly seventy savages.† The Indians were largely Delawares,‡ with some Shawanese, and a few Senecas. They appeared before Fort Granville, on the twenty-second of the month, and challenged the garrison to combat; but this was declined by the commander, in consequence of the weakness of his force. The enemy did not leave the vicinity, but contented themselves with harrassing the nearest settlements, keeping an eye, however, upon the fort; but this was unknown to the commander, Captain Edward Ward, who took it for granted that the assailants had returned to their homes.

Captain Ward's company was made up of enlisted men; they were all provincials, in the pay of Pennsylvania. The first in command under him was Lieutenant Edward Armstrong; the second, John Turner, the avenger of Simon Girty, Sr., who had with him his whole family, for their better protection. Indeed, Sherman's Valley was wholly depopulated; but grain had been sown in the spring by the settlers, who were compelled to do their work under guard. The harvest was now ripe—the fields were suffering for the reapers—but no one dared to venture out without a protector. Captain Ward determined to guard the laborers, and, on the 30th of July, marched all his force, except twenty-three, who were left, under the command of Lieutenant Armstrong, as defenders of the fort if assailed. The enemy were at once aware of this withdrawal, and, the very day of the marching

* New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X, p. 480.

† The whole force under De Villiers was about one hundred and twenty. See Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. VII, p. 232.

‡ Deposition of Thomas Girty, in Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, p. 280. "A party of Delawares, Shawanese, and French"—Deposition of Simon Girty, in Jefferson MSS, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, in Department of State, Washington.

of Ward, commenced a furious attack upon the fortification—if such it could be called.

Having assaulted the fort in vain during the afternoon and night, the enemy took to the Juniata creek, and, protected by its bank, attained a deep ravine, by which they were enabled to approach, without fear of injury, to within thirty or forty feet of the stockade, which they succeeded in setting on fire. Through a hole made by the flames, they killed the lieutenant and one private, and wounded three others, who were endeavoring to put out the fire. The enemy then offering quarter to the besieged, if they would surrender, Turner opened the gate to them.*

At this time there were inside the stockade the enlisted men, besides a number of women and children, including Turner's family. One of the soldiers, named Brandon, was tomahawked, and one, Peter Walker, afterward escaped. The loss of the enemy in killed was more than that of the besieged.

Colonel John Armstrong wrote, on the 20th of August, that "McDowell [an interpreter with the French] told Walker [the prisoner who afterward escaped] they had two Indians killed in the engagement; but the captains, Armstrong and Ward, whom I ordered, on their march to Fort Shirley, to examine every thing at Granville, and send a list of what remained among the ruins, assure me they found some parts of eight of the enemy, burnt in two different places, the joints of them being scarcely separated, and parts of their shirts [were] found through which there were bullet holes; to secrete these from our prisoners [that is, 'our men made prisoners'] was, doubtless, the reason why the French officer marched our people some distance from the fort before he gave orders to burn the barracks, etc." †

The fort was burned, and the prisoners—among whom were Turner, his wife and children—were quickly hurried into the western wilderness, "loaded with burdens."

In a letter written by Colonel William Clapham, from Fort

* Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, p. 619.

† Pennsylvania Colonial Record, Vol. VII, p. 232.

Augusta, on the 14th of August, to the governor of Pennsylvania, the statement is made, that the writer had "received by express, the disagreeable news that Fort Granville was taken and burnt to the ground by a body of 500 French and Indians, [and] that the whole garrison had been killed, except one person who was much wounded and made his escape."*

This report, as to the number killed, was, as we have seen, erroneous.†

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. II, p. 144.

† See the statement of Peter Walker, as related by Colonel John Armstrong. Pennsylvania Colonial Records, Vol. VII, p. 232, already cited.

CHAPTER II.

Leaving the unfortunates captives of Fort Granville in the hands of the French and Indians, let us follow, briefly, the current of events in the vicinity of that post for the next month, August, 1756. From the fifth to the tenth, many murders were committed in Cumberland county. This county was of great extent. It included "all and singular [the] lands lying within the province of Pennsylvania, to the westward of the Susquehanna, and northward and westward of the county of York." It is not a matter of wonder that the affrighted inhabitants, in every direction, but especially of the Juniata and Sherman's valley, should have deserted their homes. About the twentieth, on the Salisbury plain, near the mouth of Conococheague creek, as a number of men, women, and children were attending a funeral, they were fired on by about thirty Indians; fifteen persons were killed and scalped, and a number of others wounded. All around, throughout the month, wherever an opportunity offered, there the wily savages were murdering, plundering, and burning. But the day of retribution was at hand. It was determined to carry the war into the Indian country—to attack the savages in some one of their villages beyond the mountains. How this determination was carried out the sequel will show.

Far in the west, upon the east bank of the Alleghany river, was the Delaware Indian village of Kittanning, now the site of the present town of that name, county seat of Armstrong county, Pennsylvania. Down the Alleghany, below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, a trail struck its banks, coming from Shippensburg through the Indian village of Frank's Town, in the present county of Huntingdon. Another from the same place, "round Parnel's Knob and by Ray's Town [now Bedford]," reached the Alleghany not far above its uniting with the Monongahela to form the Ohio. These routes were the

ones usually followed by traders and others in passing over the mountains, in Pennsylvania. On the northern trail, some distance beyond Frank's Town, a branch trail led off to Kittanning. After the commencement of hostilities, all these trails were deserted save by war-parties of the enemy making their way into the exposed settlements east of the mountains to plunder and destroy.

The Indians who accompanied the French on their expedition, which resulted in the capture of Fort Granville, were largely from Kittanning. No sooner, therefore, had the stockade been burnt, than the enemy with their prisoners and plunder began their march for that village. Each captive able to carry a burden was loaded to the very limit of his strength and endurance. It is a tradition that Turner's share was a hundred pounds of salt. Arrived at Kittanning and preparations were made by the savages to torture at least one of their prisoners. Turner, so runs the tradition (and it is only a tradition), was recognized as the one who at Chambers's had put an end to the existence of The Fish—the slayer of Simon Girty, Sr., and his fate was sealed. Be this as it may, it is certain that he was doomed to the stake. "They tied him to a black post; danced around him; made a great fire; and, having heated gun-barrels red hot, ran them through his body! Having tormented him for three hours, they scalped him alive, and at last held up a boy with a hatchet in his hand to give him the finishing stroke." * Such was the awful death of John Turner. The miserable wife was compelled to witness the terrible sufferings of her husband. She sat upon a log near by with her young son, a beholder of the dreadful scene! The four boys—Thomas, Simon, James, and George—were also horrified spectators of their step-father's agony.† The mother and her five sons were now left to the

* Gordon's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 619. It is surmised that Roosevelt has confounded Turner with Simon Girty, Sr., and therefore applies this method of giving "the finishing stroke" to the latter.

† Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, Second Series, Vol. XIII, p. 109, note. Whether Sparks had any positive authority for the assertion, is doubtful. However, it is probably true.

tender mercies of the savages ; but the wrath of the Indians, so far as the family was concerned, was spent upon the husband and father ; the others were spared.

The family were soon separated. Mrs. Turner and her young son, John, were claimed by the Delawares, and by them taken down the river to Fort Duquesne, and there, doubtless because of "the immediate danger to which the tender life of the child was exposed," the boy, on the eighteenth day of August, 1756, was baptized by a Récollet priest, Denys Baron—John Hannigan and Sarah Foissi standing for the child as god-father and god-mother respectively ;* after which, both mother and boy were taken to the wilderness by the savages.† Thomas, Simon, James, and George were still with the Indians at Kittanning. But the rescue of one of them—only one—was nigh at hand. How this was brought about will now be explained.

After the capture of Fort Granville, it was resolved by Lieutenant-Colonel John Armstrong, in command of the provincial forces west of the Susquehanna, to march against Kittanning, the destruction of which, it was believed, would be a serious blow to the enemy ; give, perhaps, temporary ease to the suffering border ; and, perchance, set at liberty a number of prisoners. He started on his expedition with about three hundred men. This was on the 30th of August, 1756. On the 3d of September, he joined an advance party near Frank's Town. On the seventh, in the evening, being within six miles of Kittanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road and reported that there were but three or at most four Indians at it. This, as will hereafter be seen, was, to some, a fatal mistake. It was not thought proper to attempt surprising

* "Registres des Baptesmes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort Duquesne," loc. cit. See, also, Rev. A. A. Lambing's Register of Fort Duquesne, pp. 79, 96.

† That Mrs. Turner went with the Delawares, is made reasonably certain by the relation of two captives, who saw her at one of their towns in 1759. See the Narrative of Marie le Roy and Barbara Leininger, in Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 412, where her name, by misprint or inadvertence, is given as Mary Taylor instead of Mary Turner.

these few Indians at that time, lest if one should escape, the town might be alarmed; so a lieutenant with twelve men was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them till day-break. Armstrong, thereupon, with his army, turned out of the path to pass by their fire without disturbing them.

About three o'clock in the morning of the eighth, having been guided by the whooping of the savages, at a dance in their village, the provincials reached the river, one hundred perches below the principal part of the town, near a corn-field. As soon as day appeared, the attack began. The result was the destruction, by burning, of nearly thirty houses, and the killing of between thirty and forty of the Indians; besides this, eleven white persons, held captives by the savages, were rescued from their clutches, among whom was Thomas, the eldest of the Girty boys.

A tradition, long current, which finally found its way into print, was to the effect that "One of the prisoners, named [Thomas] Girty returned [having eluded his captors after the burning of Fort Granville], in a wounded condition. When he escaped, he was followed by two Indians to the head-waters of Blacklick, where they attempted to recapture him; but, in the fight that followed, he slew one of the Indians, and the other ran. He scalped the one he killed, and took his scalp to Aughwick."* All this would be creditable to the bravery of Thomas, were it true; but the official report of Colonel Armstrong disproves it, for, in his list of those who were recaptured from the savages, is the name of Thomas, who, it is expressly said, was retaken at Kittanning.†

Why a number of other prisoners were not rescued, among whom were the three brothers of Thomas Girty—Simon, James, and George—is best related in Armstrong's own words: "Captain Hugh Mercer, who, early in the action, was wounded in the arm, had been taken to the top of a hill above the town, to whom a number of the men and some of the officers were gathered; from whence they had discovered

* Jones's *History of the Juniata Valley*, p. 97.

† Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. II, p. 775.

some Indians cross the river [Alleghany] and take the hill with an intention, as they thought, to surround us and cut off our retreat. From these men I had sundry pressing messages to leave the houses and retreat to the hills, as we should all be cut off; but to this I could by no means consent until all the houses were set on fire, though our spreading upon the hills appeared very necessary, yet did it prevent our researches of the corn-field and river side, by which means sundry scalps were left behind, and, doubtless, some squaws, children, and English prisoners that otherwise might have been got." *

The "English prisoners" not rescued—including Simon Girty and his brothers James and George—were hurried across the Alleghany, and immediately started, with a guard of savages, for the woods to the westward, in order that, should they attempt to escape, in hopes of overtaking Armstrong's force, they would have little or no chance of success. As soon as danger was over, all were brought back to Kittanning.† "There," say two eye witnesses, "we had the mournful opportunity of witnessing the cruel end of an English woman, who had attempted to flee out of her captivity, and to return to the settlements with Colonel Armstrong. Having been recaptured by the savages, and brought back to Kittanning, she was put to death in an unheard of way. * First, they scalped her; next, they laid burning splinters of wood, here and there, upon her body; and then they cut off her ears and fingers, forcing them into her mouth so that she had to swallow them. Amidst such torments, this woman lived from nine o'clock in the morning until toward sunset, when a French officer took compassion on her, and put her out of her misery. An English soldier, on the contrary, named John —, who escaped from prison, at Lancaster, and joined the French, had a piece of flesh cut from her body and ate it. When she was dead, the

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. II, p. 770. In copying this, I have slightly changed the wording, but not the sense.

† Kittanning was only occupied temporarily by the Indians after it was burnt by Armstrong.

Indians chopped her in two, through the middle, and let her lie until the dogs came and devoured her.

“Three days later, an Englishman was brought in, who had, likewise, attempted to escape with Colonel Armstrong, and burned alive in the same village. His torments, however, continued only about three hours, but his screams were frightful to listen to. It rained that day very hard, so that the Indians could not keep up the fire. Hence, they began to discharge gunpowder at his body. At last, amidst his worst pains, when the poor man called for a drink of water, they brought him melted lead, and poured it down his throat. This draught at once helped him out of the hands of the barbarians, for he died on the instant.”*

But to return to the three Girty boys. What became of Simon, is best related in his own words: “Simon Girty deposeseth and saith, that while the French were in possession of Fort Duquesne, he was made prisoner by a party of Delawares, Shawanese, and French; that he was carried to Kittanning, which was then inhabited by Delawares, or Munceys, upon which he was delivered to the Senecas, one of the Six Nation tribes.”† James went with the Shawanese; George with the Delawares. They were adopted by, and became members of families belonging to the respective nations mentioned.

Captured, as Simon Girty was, at the age of fifteen, he speedily mastered the Seneca language. His brothers James and George also readily acquired the language of the tribes to which they belonged.

Leaving the five captives—Mrs. Turner and her son John, also Simon, James, and George Girty—with the Indians for “a considerable time,” as Simon afterward computed the length of his sojourn with the Senecas, let us turn our attention for

* Narrative of Marie le Roy and Barbara Leininger, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 405.

† From a deposition by Girty, printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 280. This is a portion of the same deposition found in the *Jefferson MSS*, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, in the *Department of State*, Washington, already cited. It was probably taken in March, 1777.

a moment to the events of most importance in the West following the attack upon Kittanning, to the disappearance of the French from the Ohio.

The Delawares and Shawanese (notwithstanding the Indians of the Susquehanna had made a treaty of peace with the English, at Easton, in 1757) remained hostile upon the Ohio, continuing their murderous attacks until the summer of 1758, when the advance of General John Forbes, with a considerable army, against Fort Duquesne, and the timely sending of an emissary among them, brought these savages to reason. When, therefore, the English army appeared before Fort Duquesne, the French were abandoned by their savage allies, and the post would have fallen an easy conquest for the invaders, even had not the enemy wisely vacated it, leaving the fortification little else than smoldering embers; its former occupants retiring, some of them to their posts up the Alleghany, others, down the Ohio.

During the autumn, the Ohio Indians sent their deputies to Easton, Pennsylvania, and a treaty was concluded with them by the provinces. This treaty was followed by several conferences at Pittsburgh, in that year and the one following, between agents of the English, on the one side, and the chiefs of the Ohio Indians and Six Nations (Senecas), on the other. Among those of the Indians first named, were Delawares, Shawanese, and Wyandots. As a result of these "talks" with the savages, all prisoners held by them were brought into Pittsburgh and delivered up. Of these were the three Girty boys, their mother, and her young son—John Turner.* This took place some time during the year 1759.

* See Niles's Weekly Register, Vol. XIX, p. 262, as to the return of the whole family to civilization, except Thomas Girty, who had previously escaped, as before mentioned. Compare, also, the Missouri Gazette, for May 7, 1814; Sparks's Library of American Biography, Second Series, Vol. XIII (Peck's Life of Boone), p. 109, note; and Albach's Western Annals (1857), p. 261. But Albach makes the mistake of declaring that "only the mother and Simon returned." In the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 259, it is said, erroneously, that "there is nothing to show" that Mrs. Turner ever escaped from the Indians.

NOTE.—Simon Girty's deposition, before referred to as from the Jefferson MSS, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, in the Department of State, Washington, D. C., is as follows:

"Simon Girty deposeth and saith that, while the French were in possession of Fort Duquesne, he was made prisoner by a party of Delawares, Shawanese, and French; that he was carried to Kittanning, which was then inhabited by Delawares, or Munceys, after which he was delivered to the Senecas, one of the Six Nation tribes, where he continued a considerable time; that he always understood that the party who defeated Colonel Grant consisted of French, Wyandots, Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese, and Ottawas, and that he hears that Hiashota [usually written GUYASUTHA] was with them. The deponent further saith that the party which defeated Captain Bullitt consisted of about fifty-five Indians and French, a majority of which were of the Seneca Tribe. And the deponent further saith that he heard Hiashota acknowledge that he was in the engagement, and commanded when the attack was made on Colonel Bouquet.

"The deponent further saith that he never understood the Indians returned to their side of the Alleghany river, or formed any settlements, after the Kittanning being destroyed; and that he has been informed it is not customary for Indians to re-settle a town after being destroyed by an enemy, or deserted on any other occasion. The deponent further saith that he does not know of any settlements being made between the mouth of Monongahela and the Little Kanawha till after opening the Pennsylvania Land Office. SIMON GIRTY."

CHAPTER III.

Of Mrs. Turner, mother of the Girty boys and John Turner, Jr., all that has been preserved is that, subsequent to her being delivered up by the Indians, she made her home in Pittsburgh and its vicinity. When she died has not been ascertained.

The very brief captivity of Thomas Girty, extending only from the time of the taking of Fort Granville to the destruction of Kittanning (less than forty days), precludes the idea of his having received, during that short period, impressions of savage life that could have become, to any extent, assimilated with his own. If, then (as a published account says of him), he was "an Indian of the worst stamp, in every thing but complexion and costume," it certainly arose from his association with them before or after his being taken prisoner. However, it could not have been possible that before his capture his education was of a savage cast; as, from his birth to that date, he lived at home; and the idea that he became an Indian in character and action subsequent to that event, his life-career, as hereafter briefly recorded, sufficiently disproves.

Brought in by the savages from the woods, as were Simon Girty and his brothers James and George, after the French had been driven from the Ohio, only the first named was of an age sufficient to engage in any regular employment, and even he had only reached eighteen; all were left, of course, to shift for themselves; however, when arriving at manhood, it is probable that they might have settled down to something like ordinary business habits had their lots been cast away from the western border; but, remaining in Pittsburgh, then a rough frontier settlement, is it to be wondered at that their lives were shaped by their surroundings? Trading with the Indians was the principal employment of the people at this

out-of-the-way place, previous to the war of 1763, known as "Pontiac's Conspiracy;" and the traffic was resumed immediately after the restoration of peace. This brought into requisition the linguistic acquirements of the three boys, and gave them employment as interpreters, frequently, for the traders; Simon speaking the Seneca language, George the Delaware, and James the Shawanese, as already mentioned.

Simon soon made himself popular with the Delawares, many of whom, before they were induced, by the artful wiles of Pontiac and his fellow-"conspirators," to take up the hatchet against the English, were constantly at Pittsburgh; he acquired their language, so as to speak it fluently; and we find that one of their principal warriors—Katepakomen, afterward a chief of that nation—took his name.* But this assuming, on the part of the savage, a white man's name, was not a strange circumstance. Other Delawares had done the same. It was something, also, not unusual for Indians of other tribes to do.

Now, as Katepakomen, under the name of "Simon Girty," was delivered to Colonel Henry Bouquet, in 1764 (upon the occasion of that officer's marching with an army beyond the Ohio), as a hostage, but escaping soon after, it has been supposed that the real Simon Girty had not, at that date, left the Indians and returned to civilization,† and that his brothers, James and George, were still held as captives ‡—a supposition wholly unfounded, as already shown. The Delaware "Simon Girty" as we have said, afterward became a chief.§

It is a grave error to suppose that, after the return of the three Girty boys to Pittsburgh, and while residing there, they did

* Early History of Western Pennsylvania, Appendix, pp. 161, 173; Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. IX, pp. 212, 228, 256.

† Compare An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Colonel William Crawford, in 1782, p. 183.

‡ See Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 259.

§ That Katepakomen afterward became a chief, see Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. IV, p. 532; also, American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. I, p. 545. At this time (June, 1774), "Thomas McKee" and "William Anderson" were also Delaware chiefs.

not give up, to a great extent, the habits and manners which had been acquired by them during their captivity.* However, they did not forget the wild, free life of the woods, and they continued their liking for the Indians, enjoying heartily, whenever occasion offered, visits to their camps, which were frequently to be seen in the vicinity.

Simon (and, it is probable, his two brothers, also) made many friends among the white people of Pittsburgh; nay, among a certain class, he was a man of influence. He took an interest in public affairs, and it is one of the incidents preserved of his history that he voted at the first election ever held in Bedford—a county, at that date (1771), made to include the whole of western Pennsylvania. At this time, there was a small garrison maintained at Fort Pitt, and Simon is represented, by one who there made his acquaintance, as “a man of talents,” and that he “had great influence in the garrison and with the Indians.” Though employed during the year 1772 in the congenial work of interpreting, he found time to join in frequent disputes concerning the boundary line, which was not yet run in the west, between Pennsylvania and Virginia. He sided with the Virginians. But of this hereafter.

Several traders from Pennsylvania, in 1772, had their headquarters beyond the Ohio, among the Shawanese; and, with the same nation, at that date, was James Girty, who, it is to be supposed, passed much of his time in the employment of these white men, in their traffic with the savages. A traveler, Rev. David Jones, from Freehold, New Jersey, saw him among

* “It is even said that they [Simon, James, and George Girty] returned to their tribes [after their being brought in by the Indians and delivered up], but that the Indians were again compelled to give them up. . . . Much of their time after their rescue was spent about Fort Pitt; and the then wild and wooded locality in that vicinity, which later received the name of Squirrel Hill, seems to have been one of their favorite haunts.”—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 259. This is all wrong—wrong as to their returning to their tribes after being once delivered up; wrong as to one of their haunts being Squirrel Hill; wrong as to the general idea that they were then so much imbued with the instincts of savage life as to actually shun civilization—anxious to flee from it.

those Indians the next year, and made his acquaintance. Jones reached Paint creek, a tributary of the Scioto, intending to labor among the Shawanese as a missionary. But his idea of preaching to the savages was given up, because of their opposition, and of his failure to secure a good interpreter. One had been recommended, and, on the 25th of January, of the year last mentioned, he instituted inquiry about him; but "he was hunting beavers and would not be in till spring." "This news," he wrote in his diary, "blasted all my prospects of making an useful visit; and, having no other remedy, [I] applied to one James Gerty [Girty], who was well acquainted with their [the Shawanese] language, but a stranger to religion; neither had he any inclination to engage in such solemn matters contrary to the tenor of his life, [he] having little or no fear of God before his eyes; yet he was civil, and, after much persuasion, engaged to assist me; but [he] dare not proceed, he said, before some head men came home, who were out hunting, but expected soon to return. In the meantime, I employed myself in making a vocabulary of the Shawanese language, by his [Girty's] assistance and Mrs. Henry's [the wife of a white trader, herself a white woman]." * However, the temper of the Indians was such that the good man did not wait for the return of the "head men," but soon started on his journey homeward.

From all that is known of Simon Girty during the time that elapsed after his return from captivity to the end of 1773, it is evident that his employment was, to a great extent, that of Indian interpreter, getting, when working for the Crown, a dollar a day. His brother, James, seems to have had no permanent way of obtaining a livelihood; sometimes he found work as a common laborer, sometimes as an interpreter for traders. Their brother, George, however, became (for a portion of the time we have just mentioned) a trader with the Indians on his own account.† What is known of Thomas Girty, for the twelve years immediately succeeding his return

* Jones's Journal (Sabine's reprint, New York, 1865), pp. 55, 60, 61.

† See Historical Magazine for 1870, New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 103-107.

to the Susquehanna settlements from Kittanning, is only that he sought a home in the West after Pontiac's war of 1763, but some time before 1768,* was married, and settled down to a comparatively quiet life at Pittsburgh. At the date last mentioned, we catch a glimpse of him. During that year, he sold to Richard Butler and his brother, William, "one hundred pounds of old iron, sixteen pounds of fall skins, and a bushel of potatoes." And he purchased from these brothers, during the same year, three wood screws and a number of articles necessary to the repair of a rifle. Now, this looks like a domestic life for Thomas; and tradition confirms the appearance, though it is certain he was at one time engaged in "packing" goods for the traders.

* Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, p. 280, where he testifies to certain facts, from which testimony the above statement as to his living in the West some time before 1768 is to be inferred.

CHAPTER IV.

The year 1774 was prolific of trouble in that part of the country west of the Alleghany mountains, which includes the region now constituting South-west Pennsylvania and the north-west portion of West Virginia. It was a year made conspicuous because of the intensity of ill-feeling between those residents who adhered to Pennsylvania in her claim to considerable territory upon the Ohio river, and those who insisted that Virginia included Pittsburgh, and extended a considerable distance to the eastward of it. The contest for jurisdiction was a bitter one, and came well nigh, on several occasions, reaching a point enkindling actual war.

In 1773, Westmoreland county was formed by Pennsylvania out of the western portion of Bedford, and its county-seat established at Hannastown, about thirty miles eastward of Pittsburgh. During the summer, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, visited the western country, and soon after adopted measures looking to a contest with Pennsylvania for jurisdiction over it. Meanwhile, Simon Girty was getting demonstrative on the side of Virginia. At the October session of 1773, of the court of Westmoreland county, at Hannastown, a true bill for a misdemeanor was found by the grand jury against him. Process was issued for his arrest, but he escaped.*

Lord Dunmore's chosen agent in the disputed territory was Dr. John Connolly, of Pittsburgh, who began, the first of January, 1774, to carry out the instructions of his superior, by calling on the people to meet on the twenty-fifth of that month, as militia, when he would "communicate matters for the promotion of public utility." "His Excellency, John,

* Crumrine's History of Washington County, Pennsylvania, p. 152. Whether he was actually arrested is not known.

Earl of Dunmore, Governor-in-Chief and Captain-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same," said Connolly, "has been pleased to nominate and appoint me captain commandant of the militia of Pittsburgh and its dependencies, with instructions to assure his majesty's subjects, settled on the western waters, that, having the greatest regard for their prosperity and interest, and convinced, from their repeated memorials, of the grievances of which they complain, that he proposes moving to the House of Burgesses the necessity of erecting a new county, to include Pittsburgh, for the redress of your complaint, and to take every other step that may tend to afford you that justice which you solicit." This was the commencement, in earnest, of the boundary troubles west of the mountains.

The champion of Pennsylvania in the dispute was Arthur St. Clair, one of the justices of the peace of Westmoreland county. He soon caused the arrest of Connolly, and had him imprisoned at Hannastown. The latter, however, was, not long after, released upon parole. Disturbances multiplied, especially at Pittsburgh. The Pennsylvania Court at Hannastown was assailed by Connolly with an armed force of "Virginia militia;" and, afterward, three of its justices were sent to Staunton, Virginia, to jail. Fort Pitt was taken possession of by Connolly, and its name changed to "Fort Dunmore." Pennsylvania justices in Pittsburgh seemed, in an especial manner, the objects of his wrath. In an assault by a party of his militia on Æneas Mackay, the life of Mrs. Mackay was put in jeopardy. One of the militia officers struck at her head with the barrel of his gun, with great violence; but an eye witness declares that Simon Girty, who stood by, "parried off the stroke with his hand."* This exhibition of manliness on the part of Girty, is heightened by the circumstance of his being present at the house of Mackay as a Virginia partisan.

It was not, at this date, the boundary troubles only that

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. IV, pp. 565, 566.

brought distress to the region of the upper Ohio. There was a portentous war-cloud arising south-west of Pittsburgh. Virginians on the one side, Shawanese and Mingoes* on the other—these were the combatants. The general antagonism of the red and white races, now being brought continually nearer to each other, as the tide of emigration broke through the Alleghanies, and rolled down in a continuous flow upon the Ohio valley, was the remote cause of the conflict. The immediate one was acts of aggression on both sides. For ten years following the so-called "Conspiracy of Pontiac," in 1763, there was peace upon the border; nevertheless, murders were frequent on both sides—but particularly on that of the savages. Neither the Indians nor the Virginians were prepared by a continuous forbearance to avoid a conflict, which, sooner or later, would surely be brought on between them. The redmen charged the "Long Knives" with commencing hostilities; the "Long Knives" declared the Shawanese and Mingoes the aggressors. The killing of the relatives of the Mingo chief, Logan, and other Indians, brought matters to a crisis, and "Lord Dunmore's War" ensued, the first movement of importance, on the part of the Virginians, being that of Major Angus McDonald against the Shawanese towns upon the Muskingum, which was successful.

In this war, Simon Girty was an active participant. Taking sides with Virginia in the boundary troubles, naturally he would not be backward in aiding her against the savages. That he was a Pennsylvanian did not deter him.

So, when Dunmore reached Pittsburgh, on his way with the northern division of a Virginia army to attack the Shawanese and Mingoes if these savages did not comply with his terms, Girty enlisted under his banner as scout and interpreter. "He [Dunmore]" says a recent writer, already cited, "had

* The Mingoes, west and north-west of the Ohio, at this date and later, were mongrel bands, made up principally from the Six Nations (particularly the Senecas) and Delawares. The latter were mostly of the sub-tribe known as the Monseys (generally written Muncey's). Of all their chiefs, the most noted was Logan, a Cayuga, soon to be mentioned.

with him as scouts many men famous in frontier story, among them, George Rogers Clark, Cresap, and Simon Kenton—afterwards the bane of every neighboring Indian tribe, and renowned all along the border for his deeds of desperate prowess, his wonderful adventures, and his hair-breadth escapes. Another, of a very different stamp, was Simon Girty. . . . At the moment he was serving Lord Dunmore and the whites; but he was, by tastes, habits, and education a red man, who felt ill at ease among those of his own color.”* But this is robbing him of too much—far too much—of his white “tastes, habits, and education,” as will hereafter be fully shown.

With Girty, went his half-brother, John Turner. John was brought back to civilization at a tender age, as already indicated. He grew to man’s estate in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, and married there; but nothing is known of his wife: children, he had none.

Governor Dunmore, with about twelve hundred men, now started down the Ohio. It was his intention, originally, to go as far down that stream as the mouth of the Great Kanawha; but, before reaching Pittsburgh (and while at Old Town), he changed his plan, resolving to stop at the mouth of the Little Kanawha. However, at Pittsburgh, he concluded the mouth of the Hockhocking would be the better place to make his first stand in the enemy’s country; so his forces were put in motion, destined for that point.

The southern division of the army was put under command of Colonel Andrew Lewis, whose orders were to move down the Great Kanawha to its mouth, these orders being changed, however, by Dunmore before leaving Old Town, as just intimated, so that the two divisions were to unite at the mouth of the Little Kanawha. But this arrangement was made known to Lewis at so late a date that he could not change his route, and he moved on down the river first mentioned.

At the Little Kanawha, Dunmore, in ignorance as to whether Lewis had reached Point Pleasant (mouth of the Great Kan-

* Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, pp. 219, 220.

awha), sent him a message for information, and containing instructions, also, for that officer to move his force up the Ohio, to join him at the Hockhocking. Girty and at least one other scout were detailed to carry this message.* When they reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha, they found Lewis had not arrived there; whereupon, they deposited their letters in a hollow tree, posting a notice in a conspicuous place which gave directions where the documents could be found. They then returned to Dunmore's army.

The governor and his force reached the mouth of the Hockhocking, early in October, when another express was dispatched to Lewis to move up the Ohio and join him there, which, on the 8th of October, found him at Point Pleasant, where he had arrived two days previous.† It was impossible, however, for him to start at once, on account of the non-arrival of supplies and ammunition, and of a portion of his troops. Meanwhile, scouts had been sent to the governor by him. These returned on the thirteenth, with an order from his lordship to march directly toward the Shawanese towns, in what is now Pickaway county, Ohio, and join him at a certain point on the way.‡

Dunmore now put his division in motion for the same destination. His march was enlivened by an occasional sight of an Indian. One was shot by Girty, but whether killed or not is uncertain. A skirmish also took place with the savages, on the march, but to the discomfiture of the Indians.§ It is here

* Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 88; De Hass's *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, p. 155, note.

† "On the 9th [of October, 1774], Simon Girty arrived in camp, bringing a message from Lord Dunmore."—Roosevelt. "Some accounts say," adds that author, "that he [Girty] was accompanied by Kenton and McCulloch." But, as already explained, it was the first message sent by Dunmore (of which message Roosevelt is ignorant) that was intrusted to Girty.

‡ This message is by Roosevelt confounded with the one which he says reached Lewis by the hands of Girty on the 9th of October. The first two messages ordered Lewis up the Ohio to unite with Dunmore; the last one directed him to cross that river at Point Pleasant and meet him on the way to the Shawanese towns.

§ See Dunmore's Official Report, in *Magazine of Western History*, Vol.

worthy of notice, in view of Girty's subsequent career, that he manifested the strongest desire to kill any savage that might be found lurking in front of the army; indeed, his antipathy, apparently, to the redskins, was very marked.

On the march to the Indian villages, Lord Dunmore was overtaken by a courier from Lewis, acquainting him of a hard fought battle on the 10th of October, at Point Pleasant, where his army had contended all day long with a large force of Shawanese and other savages, commanded by the Shawanese chief Cornstalk, only to claim the victory at night-fall, after a severe loss in killed and wounded.

A wholly erroneous, and, withal, most ridiculous story, has found its way into print, to the effect that Simon Girty was the leader of the Indians at the battle of Point Pleasant; that he was not only an express sent by Dunmore to Lewis, but that he had a wordy encounter with the latter, threatening him, and finally carrying his threat into execution, by fleeing to the wilderness and marshaling the savages across the Ohio against him, and leading them to the conflict just mentioned.*

On the seventeenth, Lewis crossed the Ohio, and took up his line of march to the Scioto, to join Dunmore. His lordship was met, before he reached the Indian villages, by a messenger (a white man) from the enemy, anxious for an accommodation; for a peace had already been conquered by the Virginians, at a sacrifice, as just related, of many valuable lives, in the battle at Point Pleasant. Dunmore sent back the messenger with John Gibson and Girty. The two soon

I, p. 457 (March, 1885). It is a letter from Dunmore to Dartmouth, from Williamsburgh, dated December 24, 1774.

* William D. Gallagher, the poet, first gave to the world this story, which is by odds the most fictitiously fictitious that has as yet appeared in print concerning any of the Girtys. However, he is not to be censured for this, for he was assured of its truth by one who claimed to have been associated with Girty and knew whereof he spoke! Mr. Gallagher's article is entitled "Girty, the Renegade," and first appeared in *The Hesperian*, Vol. I, pp. 349, 423, which will be found republished, substantially, in *The Backwoodsmen*, pp. 498-525. See also (with some variations "in the tradition," as it is styled) *The Trans-Alleghany Pioneers*, pp. 223-225.

brought an answer to his lordship from the Shawanese. Gibson, nearly twenty-six years after, in relating the affair, ignores the presence of Girty entirely.* But his memory was certainly at fault, for a number of persons present, afterward declared that he was accompanied by Girty.

While negotiations were going forward, the Mingo chief, Logan, held himself aloof. "Two or three days before the treaty," says an eye witness, "when I was on the out-guard, Simon Girty, who was passing by, stopped with me and conversed; he said he was going after Logan, but he did not like his business, for he was a surly fellow. He, however, proceeded on, and I saw him return on the day of the treaty, and Logan was not with him. At this time, a circle was formed, and the treaty begun. I saw Jean Gibson, on Girty's arrival, get up and go out of the circle and talk with Girty, after which he (Gibson) went into a tent, and soon after returning into the circle, drew out of his pocket a piece of clean, new paper, on which was written, in his own handwriting, a speech for, and in the name of Logan."† This was the famous "speech,"‡ about which there has been so much controversy. It is now well established that the version as first printed,

* See Gibson's Statement, in Appendix to the Notes on Virginia [Jefferson's] Relative to the Murder of Logan's Family (Philadelphia, 1801), pp. 13-16.

† From Benjamin Tomlinson's testimony, as given in Jacob's Life of Cresap, pp. 76, 108, 109. "He [Tomlinson] hints," says Roosevelt (in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 351), "but does not frankly assert, that Gibson was not sent after Logan, but that Girty was." It is suggested that his "hint" is about as plain as any frank assertion could be. In *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, etc.*, pp. 30, 31, the writer of this narrative gives credit to Gibson's statement, which says nothing about the part taken by Girty in connection with Logan's "speech;" but I am now abundantly satisfied that Tomlinson's testimony in this respect is to be relied upon. Gibson was not ambitious to have his name connected with that of Girty, after the latter became odious. "There is some uncertainty," says Roosevelt, "as to whether Logan came up to Gibson at the treaty and drew him aside, or whether the latter went to seek him in his wigwam." See *The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 237, note. But there is no "uncertainty" about it; they did not meet each other at all.

‡ "I appeal to any white man," etc.

was substantially the words of Logan; but it is equally certain, that he (Logan), in attributing the murder of his relatives to Colonel Cresap, was mistaken. Girty, from recollection, translated the "speech" to Gibson, and the latter put it into excellent English, as he was abundantly capable of doing.

Peace followed with the Shawanese; but the Mingoës, in attempting to escape without making terms with Dunmore, were, by Major William Crawford, who led a few brave men against them, severely punished.

It was while on the march from the mouth of the Hocking to the Shawanese towns, that Dunmore, knowing that Girty and his half-brother, John Turner, as well as the brothers, Joseph and Thomas Nicholson, who were also with the army as scouts, had lived among the Indians, desired them to get up, for his diversion, an Indian dance; which they did, greatly to the admiration and astonishment of the governor. They interspersed the performance with Indian songs and yells that made the welkin ring.

Lord Dunmore's War did not lessen the severity of the boundary troubles in and around Pittsburgh, and Girty was rewarded for the part he had performed upon the expedition against the Shawanese, and for the interest taken by him on the side of Virginia, concerning the unrun boundary line, with a commission in the militia at "Fort Dunmore." The list of officers stood thus: John Connolly, major; George Aston, captain; William Christy, first lieutenant; Simon Girty, second lieutenant; Jacob Bousman, ensign.

There is evidence that these officers were not idle. An eye witness deposed "That, on this instant—24th of December [1774]—a number of armed men came to the jail of the said [Westmoreland] county [at Hannastown], and ordered him [the deponent] to open the prison doors and turn out a certain William Thomas, then in his custody on sundry executions; that he believes a certain William Christy and Simon Girty, who seemed to be officers from their dress, were at the head

of their party; that he, this deponent, refused to deliver his prisoner or open the door where he was confined; that they then talked of throwing down the house; when a certain Major Connolly came up, inquired who resisted the releasement of the prisoners, [and] threatened to tie and carry him off. [The said Connolly] then ordered the party to fire their pieces against the house, and strip off the roof; on which, he (this deponent), being afraid of ill consequences, both to his person and property, did open the door to allow the prisoner to speak to the party; and one of them rushed in, seized him, and dragged him out, and also turned out a certain William Dawson, who was likewise in his custody on execution; and that it was Connolly, himself, who laid hands on Thomas and dragged him out.*

At about the time of this transaction, Virginia courts were organized in the disputed territory, presided over by justices of the peace, appointed by Governor Dunmore. The county court of Augusta county was also adjourned from Staunton to "Fort Dunmore." It was one of the orders of this court that all militia officers should take the oath of allegiance, the oath of supremacy, the test oath, and the oath of abjuration; therefore, "on the 22d of February, 1775, came Simon Girty, in open court, and took and subscribed" all of them.

Girty did "sincerely promise and swear" that he would be "faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third," and that from his heart he did "abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated and deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome," might be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. He also swore that he believed there was not "any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine at or after the consecration thereof, by any person or persons whatsoever." Then, after

* Pennsylvania Colonial Records, Vol. X, pp. 227, 228.

"truly and sincerely" acknowledging King George the Third to be the "lawful and rightful king" of the realm, he solemnly declared his belief that the pretender, "James the Third," had no title whatever to the crown. He further swore that he would defend to the utmost of his power his lawful sovereign "against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever," which might be "made against his person, crown, or dignity," promising "to support, maintain, and defend the succession of the crown against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever."

So it was, says the court record, that "Simon Girty took the usual oaths to his majesty's person and government; subscribed the abjuration oath and test; which [fact] is ordered to be certified on his commission of a lieutenant of the militia of Pittsburgh and its dependencies." *

There can be no doubt that, at this time, Girty, notwithstanding there was trouble of a serious nature between the colonies and the mother country, was "well-disposed" toward the latter; for Lord Dunmore furnished his government a list of those who were considered by him as loyal, which included his name. It was as follows:

"At Fort Pitt: Alexander McKee, deputy agent of Indian affairs; — McKee, brother to Alexander; Alexander Ross, a Scotchman; John Campbell; Captain George Aston; Lieutenant Simon Girty; Lieutenant William Christy; Lieutenant Jacob Bousman.

"Indians to be heard of at Fort Pitt: White Eyes, chief of the Delaware Indians; White Mingo; Cornstalk, chief of the Shawanese; Kayashuta [usually written Guyasutha], chief of the Mingoes; John Montour, half white, half Indian; Logan, a great warrior of the Mingoes.

"At the Alleghany mountains, and to be heard of at Fort

* Compare, in this connection, Creigh's History of Washington County, Pennsylvania, pp. 13, 14, 23; also, Crumrine's history of the same county, p. 205. See, in addition, The Centennial Celebration of the Organization of Washington County, Pennsylvania, by the writer last mentioned, p. 31; also, Centennial History of Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, p. 98.

Pitt: Major William Crawford; Valentine Crawford, brother of William; John Stephenson [half-brother of William and Valentine]; William Harrison [son-in-law of William Crawford]; Thomas Gist, and his brother." *

That Simon Girty was labored with by Connolly to remain "loyal to government," there is little doubt. The words of the Major imply as much. He had prepared a banquet at "Fort Dunmore," and invited to the feast such of his friends as he thought he could best depend upon. "The gentlemen present," says Connolly, "were most of them either officers in the militia, or magistrates of the county, consequently were those whose influence and wealth could most effectually serve the cause. A solemn compact was immediately entered into, stating, that if an accommodation did not take place, and I could procure the necessary authority to raise men, they would, at the risk of life and property, most willingly engage to restore the constitutional authority, as far as any co-operative measure from that county could contribute to so salutary a design." † Now, as Girty was not wholly without influence, though having no wealth, and as he was one of the officers of Connolly's militia,—that he was present at the Major's entertainment and was one of those who entered into the "solemn compact," is probable. But he soon changed his mind. Dunmore's "list" was doubtless made by Connolly.

* MS. List of Persons Well-disposed to His Majesty's Government, Living on the Frontiers of Virginia: Haldimand Papers.

† From A Narrative of the Transactions, Imprisonment, and Sufferings of John Connolly, an American Loyalist and Lieut. Col. in His Majesty's Service, reprinted in Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XII, p. 817.

CHAPTER V.

The immediate result of the successful termination of Lord Dunmore's War was, to Virginia, comparative immunity from savage aggressions upon her western border, causing a renewal of emigration to the "western waters" (which had received a decided check); and, as to Pennsylvania, a quick resumption of trade with the Indians beyond the Ohio. Both these, however, were destined soon to be seriously interfered with, for the War of the Revolution was at hand.

After the battle of Lexington, the fires of patriotism west of the mountains were quickly lighted. The hearts of many of the backwoodsmen were soon aglow with enthusiasm for the cause of liberty. On the 16th of May, 1775, conventions were held at Pittsburgh and Hannastown, for citizens to give expression to their views and sentiments regarding the troubles with the mother country. All of those of the whites on Dunmore's "list," with one or two exceptions (and Simon Girty was not of the latter), quickly and patriotically rallied with the Whigs. The people in the Trans-Alleghany country, however, had little to fear from invading armies of Great Britain. Their dread was of a more merciless foe.

It had been arranged at "Camp Charlotte," between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese, that a supplemental treaty should be held in the ensuing spring to settle some minute matters that could not be, as his Lordship averred, well attended to at the first meeting. The whole matter, however, because the "rebellion" had made it impossible for Lord Dunmore to keep his promise, was put into the hands of Connolly, who, although notifying these Indians that he was ready to treat and deliver up the hostages who had been turned over to Dunmore at the conclusion of peace, could not induce them to put in an appearance; but, as the Delawares

and Mingoes had also been invited, a few of these went to Pittsburgh and had a "talk" with Connolly.

The Virginia House of Burgesses, distrusting Major Connolly's treaty, just then being held, and hearing of the discontent of the Ohio Indians because the understanding with Lord Dunmore had not borne fruits, appointed commissioners to meet those savages and ratify the "Camp Charlotte" agreement. One of the men appointed—James Wood—notwithstanding the "talk" of Connolly, made an extended trip into the Ohio wilderness, inviting the various tribes to a general meeting at Pittsburgh.* With him, as guide and interpreter, went Simon Girty, also under pay of Virginia. The sympathies of the latter were now fully enlisted on the side of the colonies against the home government. He was outspoken in his denunciations of its arbitrary acts.

The two left Pittsburgh in July, and made their way as far west as the upper Wyandot town, on the Sandusky river, within the present limits of Wyandot county, Ohio. Girty had learned, by associating with Wyandots during their frequent visits at Pittsburgh in the years gone by, to speak their language quite intelligibly. He had also taken several trips into the Ohio wilderness after his return from captivity among the Senecas; so that he could readily act as guide as well as interpreter even so far west, among the Ohio Indians, as the Sandusky. On the return of the two, they visited Pluggy's Town, on the Scioto, at the site of the present town of Delaware, in Delaware county, Ohio, and the "Big Salt Licks," in what is now Franklin county, that state.† Girty, for his services upon this tour, was paid but five shillings a day, notwithstanding he underwent, as he afterward declared, "the greatest fatigues, difficulties, and dangers." He subsequently

* Magazine of Western History, Vol. VIII, pp. 70-72.

† The Journal of Wood is extant. Important parts of it will be found published in Kercheval's *History of the Valley of Virginia*, pp. 184, 185; Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, Vol. III, pp. 76-78; Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 9, note 4; Jacob's *Life of Cresap*, pp. 70, 85. Compare, also, Mayer's *Logan and Cresap*, pp. 184, 185.

—in May, 1777—petitioned the Virginia Executive Council for an additional compensation, which was not granted.

By the middle of the year 1775, Connolly, having previously disbanded and discharged his militia, by which means Girty lost his office of second lieutenant, left Pittsburgh, much disgusted, to confer with Dunmore. He declares "the demagogues of faction were active."

About this time (that is, in July, 1775), Congress created three Indian departments—the one west of the Alleghanies to be known as the "Middle Department," three commissioners being appointed to preserve peace and friendship with the savages therein. These commissioners joined their efforts with those appointed previously by Virginia to bring about a treaty with the western savages. In October, a large body of Delawares and Munceys, some Shawanese and Mingoos, also a few Sandusky Wyandots and Ottawas, came to Pittsburgh. A strict neutrality, as between the mother country and the colonies, was urged upon the Indians, to which they agreed. But did they keep their promise? We shall soon see.

On the 11th of September, Captain John Neville took possession, under orders of Virginia, of the dilapidated Fort Pitt (its name being now fully restored), at the head of one hundred of the militia of that commonwealth, not to further its interest in the boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, but to cover and protect the border from the savages whose depredations might be counted upon with certainty.

The Indian policy of Neville, upon taking possession of Fort Pitt, was one of strict neutrality, powerless, however, to a great extent with the western tribes, except the Delawares, who were located on what are now known as the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers, in the State of Ohio. Their most important village was at Coshocton, near the site of the present town of that name, county-seat of Coshocton county. In the Tuscarawas valley, Moravian missionaries had stations, where were their Indian converts, brought from Pennsylvania.

In November, Henry Hamilton arrived at Detroit as lieu-

tenant-governor and Indian superintendent,* and was immediately importuned by the Indians in the vicinity for his assent to their making inroads upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, but not having received positive orders on the subject, he declined to give it; so the evil day of a general Indian war was postponed.

In Fincastle county, Virginia—that is, in that part then lying west of the Big Sandy, including the whole of the present State of Kentucky—during the last half of the year 1775, settlements increased. But, from the first appearance of spring, in 1776, not only these settlements, but the more numerous ones on the head streams of the Ohio, began to be uneasy as to the savages beyond that river. Before this time, Richard Butler had been agent of Indian affairs, in the Middle Department; but, on the 10th of April, he was succeeded by George Morgan. One of the first duties to be performed by the latter was the appointment of interpreters to assist him in his labors. Of those employed were William Wilson, Joseph Nicholson, Simon Girty, and Peter Long.

Girty was appointed on the first day of May of the year last named, to interpret for the Six Nations, at Pittsburgh, which meant, practically, for the Senecas. He was to receive “at the rate of five-eighths of a dollar per diem during good behavior, or the pleasure of the Honorable Continental Congress, or their commissioners or agents for the Middle Department.” He was, upon all occasions, to use his “utmost endeavors to promote the public tranquillity, and maintain a good understanding between the United Colonies and the Indians,” and inform Morgan of all intelligence which might come to his knowledge. He was to obey all of Morgan’s reasonable

* In 1783, Hamilton addressed a memorial to the commissioners of his majesty’s treasury, in which he says that, “in the month of April, 1775, I was appointed lieutenant-governor and superintendent of the settlement of Detroit, at a salary of £200. In the month of September following, Sir Guy Carleton sent me to that post with verbal orders, the state of the province [of Quebec] at that time pressing my departure.” He did not reach Detroit, however, until the 9th of November. See *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 490.

and lawful orders during the agency of the latter, and faithfully to keep secret all private councils between the commissioners, agents, Indians, and himself, so far as the public good should require it. He was also to visit and confer with all Indians who should reach Fort Pitt, so early after their arrival as possible, to learn their business, and immediately to acquaint the agent therewith. In the event of any discontent among the Indians, he was, at once, to inform Morgan of the fact; and he was to take care that none of them, on any account, should be insulted or injured by the inhabitants. He was, likewise, to be equally cautious to prevent any of them injuring the inhabitants.

Girty was, upon no account, to be concerned in trade, or assistant therein, unless when called upon to see justice done between traders and Indians. For extraordinary services, he was to be entitled to further reasonable allowance, as the case might be.

The office was accepted by Girty, who engaged to fulfill and comply with all the directions imposed by Morgan, to the utmost of his ability.

While thus engaged, he was sent once into the Indian country.* However, he only held the position three months; for, on the first day of August, it was found necessary to discharge him "for ill behavior." †

* Compare Journals of the Old Congress, Vol. II, p. 457, and Girty's account, below.

† Historical Register, Vol. II (June, 1884), pp. 155-157. A few days after his dismissal, Girty rendered the following bill for extra pay:

		<i>"PITTSBURGH, August 11, 1776.</i>	
<i>"THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,</i>		<i>"TO SIMON GIRTY, DR.</i>	
<i>"To a horse taken by Mr. Geo. Morgan, and given out in the service of the public.....</i>		<i>£20</i>	<i>0 0</i>
<i>"To cas^t: expended on his journey to the Indian country, [as] per acct. rendered [below].....</i>			<i>3 0 0</i>
<i>"CASH EXPENDED.</i>			
<i>"To hire of horse.....</i>		<i>0</i>	<i>15 0</i>
<i>"To finding a horse when lost.....</i>		<i>0</i>	<i>15 0</i>
<i>"To rum to chiefs of the Indians, at their request.....</i>		<i>0</i>	<i>15 0</i>

Girty, it seems, was, sometime after being relieved from his duties as interpreter, sent as express on public business to Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His "ill-behavior," it appears, was not of such a character as to lessen the confidence of the Whigs at Pittsburgh and vicinity in him as a trustworthy patriot. "It made us very uneasy," wrote a daughter of John Montgomery from Carlisle, on the 13th of September, "the reports that we have up here, that there were ten hundred Indians ready to attack Fort Pitt, and [that the attack is] intended in a very little time. There was one Girty that came express here and asserted it for truth, and that there were some hundreds of white people killed up the river. A great many, including myself, believe it here."* Doubtless what Girty did report was considerably exaggerated by the time it reached the ears of the writer of the letter.

It having been determined in May, 1776, to hold another treaty with the Indians at Pittsburgh, as there was evidently a constantly increasing bitterness of feeling on their part against the Americans, Morgan, in June, sent two trusty messengers to the Shawanese, to urgently request them not to go to Detroit, where a conference was also to be held by Hamilton with the savages, but to await Morgan's arrival among them. The latter, on his reaching the Shawanese, was successful in keeping that tribe away from Detroit, and in getting a promise from them to attend the proposed council at Pitts-

"To horse shoeing	0	3	9
"For meat.....	0	3	9
"To an Indian who accompanied me, to buy leggings with..	0	7	6
	£3	0	0

"My constant wages in the service and extra pay when in the Indian country, Mr. Morgan knows; it is, therefore, not inserted here. Errors excepted.

HIS
"SIMON + GIRTY."
MARK

* Magazine of Western History, Vol. IV (September, 1886), art., "An Antiquarian's Scrap Book." It is believed that the "one Girty" mentioned by Montgomery's daughter was Simon; as his coming as "express" indicates that he was on some public business, a duty we do not find his brothers were called upon, so early in the Revolution, to fulfill.

burgh. He also sent word to the Wyandots upon the Sandusky, inviting them to be present.

Open acts of hostility were now begun by the savages in Kentucky; however, when, in October, Morgan had got together Mingoes, Delawares (including Munceys), Mohicans, and Shawanese, at Pittsburgh, they all gave their solemn assurance to remain neutral. A significant circumstance was that no Ottawas, no Wyandots, Pottawattamies, or Chippewas, came to the council; they had been kept away by the activity of Hamilton. His policy was by no means for neutrality, but to engender hostility.* Before the close of the year the Mingoes, living at Pluggy's Town, a lawless gang who had no representatives at the Pittsburgh treaty, committed a number of depredations across the Ohio, between the mouths of Grave creek and the Great Kanawha, killing and making prisoners of the borderers without distinction of sex and regardless of age. And now even the Shawanese began their work of devastation and death—a party of that tribe killing three persons in Kentucky.

During the year, the fortification at the mouth of the Great Kanawha was rebuilt, and named Fort Randolph. Fort Finncastle, “at the mouth of Wheeling,” was repaired, and occupied by a small force, its name being changed to Fort Henry.

* The arrival of Hamilton at Detroit was, as before mentioned, November 9, 1775, yet Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 2, note) makes it a year later: “There were several councils held at Detroit during this fall [1776], and it is difficult—and not very important—to separate the incidents that occurred at each. Some took place before Hamilton arrived, which, according to his ‘brief account,’ was November 9th [1776]. He asserts that he did not send out war parties until the following June [1777]; but the testimony seems conclusive that he was active in instigating hostility from the time of his arrival.” It is true that, in *Hamilton's Journal*, as published in 1886, in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX., pp. 489–516, the year of his arrival at Detroit is not given, but the context shows clearly that it was in 1775, and there is an abundance of outside evidence extant (besides Hamilton's own words, already cited) to prove it.

CHAPTER VI.

Early in 1777, Neville's force at Fort Pitt was relieved by Virginia troops raised for that purpose; but, on the first day of June of that year, Brigadier-General Hand, of the Continental army, assumed chief command of that post.

Not long after Simon Girty's dismissal as interpreter by Morgan, he exerted himself in and around Pittsburgh in enlisting men for the patriot army, expecting as a reward for his success and assiduity a captain's commission; in this, however, he was disappointed; he was made second lieutenant in Captain John Stephenson's company of one year men. This company went to Charleston, and was there during the attack on Sullivan's Island. Girty did not, for some reason, go south, but remained in Pittsburgh on detached duty. As late as July, 1777, he was present at Fort Pitt—still a subaltern. "He seemed wholly taken up in intercourse with the Indians, a great number of whom were in and around the fort." * It is probable that his influence with the Indians was the cause of his remaining at home; as he could be of service to the country, notwithstanding he was not regularly employed as interpreter. He resigned his commission as second lieutenant early in August.

It was, at the beginning of 1777, the first and great object of Hamilton, at Detroit, to keep the Ohio Indians and those beyond, firm in the interest of the king, and ready, if need be, to take up the hatchet against the Americans. The savages were not slow to perceive the general trend of his thoughts as manifested by his words and actions. Again Shawanese raided into Kentucky, and the Mingoes of Pluggy's Town were particularly hostile on the border of what is now

* See Statement of Francis Dunlavy, in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, p. 254.

West Virginia, even as far from the Ohio as to strike the settlements in South-western Pennsylvania.

Hamilton had proposed to his superiors "the making a diversion on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by parties of Indians conducted by proper leaders;" and, after maturely weighing the proposition, Lord George Germain directed him to assemble as many Indians of his district as he conveniently could; place proper persons at their head (to whom he was to make suitable allowances) to conduct their parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well-affected and inoffensive inhabitants; and then send them to make a diversion and excite an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania *—"to let loose," in the language of Chatham, "the horrible hell-hounds of savage war" against the exposed settlements. This order was received by Hamilton in June, and before the end of July, two hundred and eighty-nine braves, in fifteen several parties, were sent out by him. He had, by his own suggestions, induced Germain to adopt this most barbarous policy, which, with a haste and a zeal bespeaking his delight for it, he was now successfully carrying out. For the Western Border War, then, with its innumerable horrors, he must be held accountable.

General Hand, soon after arriving at Fort Pitt, resolved upon an expedition against the savages, whose depredations were now alarmingly on the increase. He had a frontier to protect all the way from Kittanning to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Below Fort Pitt were Fort Henry and Fort Randolph. Rude stockades and block-houses were multiplied in the most exposed settlements, defended by squads of militia, generally, on short tours of duty. The general was particularly desirous of marching against the Wyandots, upon the Sandusky river, in what is now the northwestern part of Ohio, and the Pluggy's Town Indians on the Scioto; but, for a number of reasons, he failed and was compelled to remain on the defensive only.

* Germain to Carleton, March 26, 1777, in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 346, 347.

The principal aggressive movement of the enemy during 1777, across the border, was an attack on Fort Henry, on the first day of September, by a force of about two hundred Indians. Fifteen of the Americans were killed and five wounded, when the assailants withdrew across the Ohio, having suffered but a trifling loss.

Although Simon Girty, as may be premised, subsequently signalized his zeal for the British cause in a manner at times peculiarly savage, the western settlements had not as yet suffered from his cruelty; notwithstanding this fact, histories of the West teem with his (supposed) exploits against his countrymen while, yet, he was dwelling at Pittsburgh. It has been particularly set forth how he concentrated an Indian army on the Sandusky to move against Wheeling in the attack just mentioned, and that he commanded the savages in assailing Fort Henry on that occasion;* but this is all pure fiction.†

General Hand learned, upon taking command at Fort Pitt, that there was a distrust among the Whigs of Pittsburgh and vicinity of a number of the inhabitants as to their loyalty. One, in particular, was looked upon with suspicion. This was Alexander McKee, who had been deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson from 1772, until the death of the latter in 1774, and had not yet resigned his office—the same person mentioned in Dunmore's "list." McKee was a native of Pennsylvania, of that part of the province lying east of the mountains. He early became a trader with the Indians, carrying on the business on a large scale from Pittsburgh, in conjunc-

* See *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, p. 305.

† Already have published statements sufficiently exposed this fallacy; see, especially, the note of Isaac Craig, in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. III, p. 513 (August, 1879); still, in *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, art. Simon Girty, and in *The Story of Ohio*, by Alexander Black, p. 74, it is repeated; and in *The Winning of the West*, it is declared that "there seems to be a doubt whether [Simon] Girty did or did not command the Indians" at the first siege of Wheeling (Vol. II, p. 9, note). But, subsequently, this declaration is modified to some extent by the author averring that he does not know whether either ["of the two brothers Girty"] was at the first attack (p. 119, note). He has no knowledge of a third brother. Neither of them was there.

tion with Alexander Ross, from 1768 to 1772. He had, in 1771, upon the erection of Bedford county, been appointed, by the governor of Pennsylvania, one of its justices of the peace; and, upon the organization of Westmoreland county, in 1773, his commission was renewed for that county. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he was a citizen of considerable means and influence in Pittsburgh and its vicinity. As early as the 9th of April, 1776, he had been required by the committee of West Augusta—the Virginia name of the district including Pittsburgh—to give his parole not to transact any business with the Indians on behalf of the crown or ministry, and not to correspond directly or indirectly with any crown or ministerial officers, nor leave the vicinity of Fort Pitt, without the consent of that committee.*

About the end of August, 1777, General Hand found it necessary, both to appease the popular clamor, and for his own security, to bring McKee from his farm and confine him to his own house in Pittsburgh. On inquiry, the general discovered he had not violated his parole given the year before. During the violence of the outcry, he was anxious to move down the country to Lancaster county, but he soon changed his mind and desired to remain in Pittsburgh, having a considerable interest in the neighborhood, but the real reason will soon appear. General Hand did not think it necessary to refuse him his request, at least, until the sense of Congress could be learned with regard to the matter. He took up his old parole and gave a new one, more to the satisfaction of the committee.†

The reason for the general clamor just at that time against McKee was, the report that a conspiracy was on foot to murder the Whigs in the West, and to accept terms which had been offered by Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit, in a proclamation issued by him of June previous,‡ and that

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 16; and see the authorities there cited.

† Id., p. 17.

‡ This proclamation of Hamilton was issued in obedience to the orders of Lord George Germain, of March 26, 1777, the object being "to divide

McKee was one of the conspirators. Among others suspected of being in the plot, Simon Girty was one. He was arrested and sent "to the common guard-house." He soon made his escape, just to show, as he affirmed, his ability to break down the barriers interposed between him and his liberty; however, the next day he returned of his own accord and was again locked up. He was afterward examined before a magistrate and acquitted.*

As Girty was now fully restored to the confidence of the Fort Pitt commander, he was, during the fall, sent with messages to the Senecas living upon the upper waters of the Alleghany, who, there were reasons for believing, were now hostile to the United States. Girty would have been held by the savages as a spy and taken to Niagara, but he managed to escape, reaching Pittsburgh in safety and reporting that many of the Senecas were, in reality, on the war-path. Subsequent developments confirmed, in the main, his statements.

It finally came to the ears of General Hand, so well authenticated that he could not wholly ignore it, the report that McKee was really making preparations to leave Pittsburgh and join the enemy. Thereupon, on the 29th of December, 1777, he requested him to repair to York Town, in Pennsylvania, there to await further orders from the Continental Board of War. But the wily Tory made excuses, and he was allowed to remain at his home.

the attention of the rebels" in the East, "obliging them to collect a considerable force to oppose him" (Hamilton) in the West. It was, however, as will hereafter be seen, the hostility of the Indians, not the proclamation, which brought this about.

* "The grandfather of Rev. J. B. Johnston, of St. Clairsville, Ohio, who, during the Revolution, had command of a block-house [probably guard-house], in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on one occasion held Simon Girty as a prisoner, but the date of the event we are unable to obtain. He effected his release by pretending to be friendly to the Americans."—Newton's *History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia*, p. 150. This must have reference to the imprisonment spoken of above; but the account, it will be noticed, says he effected "his release by pretending to be friendly to the Americans. There is no doubt of his genuine friendship for the patriot cause at that time.

But little is known of Thomas Girty at this period. At a term of the West Augusta court held at Pittsburgh on the 16th of January, 1776, he was compelled to enter into bond to keep the peace, he having been charged with threats against, and an assault upon, the wife of one Samuel Sample. And he had other troubles. In the court of Yohogana county, on the twenty-seventh of August of the next year, a suit was determined wherein Ignaw Labat was plaintiff and he defendant. But he was a man of his word; a man whose oath had its weight, as is made certain by the fact that, in 1777, when a band of traders were seeking to make good their title to a large part of what is now the western portion of the State of West Virginia—then called by them “Indiana”—they took (on the tenth of March) his deposition as to certain matters: “Thomas Girty deposeth and saith that he was made a prisoner by a party of Indians, most of whom were Delawares; that he continued at the Kittanning ’till it was destroyed by the English; that the Delawares removed to the other side of the [Alleghany] river, and never returned after the Kittanning was destroyed to his knowledge; [and] that he does not know of any settlements being made within the Indian grant [‘Indiana’] before the year 1768.”*

* Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, p. 280.

CHAPTER VII.

George Girty lived quietly at Pittsburgh during Lord Dunmore's War, and was looked upon as a zealous Whig at the commencement of the Revolution. There was no reason known to the patriots for suspecting his loyalty. As a citizen, he was not without some influence in the community. Like his brother Simon, he would occasionally indulge in a spree; but he was by no means a sot. Early in the year 1778, Captain James Willing, with a company of United States marines, reached Pittsburgh, on his way down the Ohio. Here he recruited his force to more than one hundred men, George Girty joining his company. On the 6th of February, the latter was commissioned a second lieutenant, drawing pay at the rate of thirty-three and one-third dollars a month.* He proceeded with the captain to the Mississippi, on a predatory expedition against the British planters down that river.†

General Hand, in command at Pittsburgh, having previously received intelligence that a quantity of stores was lodged by the British at an Indian town on the Cuyahoga river, formed a project for capturing them. Gathering a party of about five hundred men at Fort Pitt, mostly from Westmoreland county, he proceeded, in February, 1778, on the expedition. It was the first time the Americans marched in force into the Indian country during the Revolution. Heavy rains falling, and the snows of winter melting, Hand was obliged to relinquish his design, after having arrived at a point a considerable distance above the mouth of the Beaver, on the Mahoning

* Potter's American Monthly, Vol. VII (November, 1876), p. 388. See, as to Willing's company generally, Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. XII, pp. 148, 216; also, some of the current histories of the West, as well as histories of the United States.

† Post, Chap. XII.

river. Just at this place, Indian tracks were discovered, conjectured to be of warriors on a marauding expedition into the settlements. These were followed to a camp, "supposed to contain between fifty and sixty Indians," which was immediately attacked; "but, to my great mortification," wrote the commander, "only one man, with some women and children, was found." The Indian and one of the squaws were killed. "Another woman was taken," adds the chagrined and thoroughly disgusted general, "and with difficulty saved; the remainder escaped." The prisoner reported that ten Muncey Indians—Delawares—were making salt about ten miles further up the Mahoning. A detachment was sent to secure them. This enterprise proved even more inglorious than the first. The enemy "turned out to be four women and a boy," wrote Hand, "of whom one woman only was saved." "In performing these great exploits," are the felicitous words of the commander, "I had but one man—a captain—wounded, and one drowned." This enterprise into the enemy's country was long after spoken of in the West as the "Squaw Campaign!"*

The particular incidents of this expedition have thus been narrated because of the fact that Simon Girty was one of the five hundred who went out under Hand—the only time he ever actually marched against the foe under the American flag. He led the detachment against the supposed ten Muncceys at the Salt Lick, showing that he was acquainted with the country, and had been there during his abode with the Senecas in previous years.

United States commissioners at Pittsburgh, who had been sent there late in 1777 to inquire into the disaffection of the frontier people and to provide for carrying the war into the enemy's country, recommended to Congress that a treaty be held in July, 1778, at that place, with the Delawares, Shawanese, and other Indians. The recommendation was approved, and it was resolved that three persons should be appointed

* Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 66, note; Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 15, 16.

to negotiate with the red men. But the commissioners did not await the action of Congress before sending messengers carrying presents into the Indian country, with speeches and invitations to the savages to attend the conference. The messenger sent to the Shawanese was James Girty.* He had returned from the Indian country just before the beginning of Lord Dunmore's War, and had since remained in Pittsburgh, employing himself, generally, as a common laborer.† His selection was due to the fact of his supposed loyalty, and of his ability to speak the Shawanese language with great ease and accuracy; besides, he was personally known to many of the tribe. About the 1st of March, 1778, he started on his mission.‡

Additional evidence having been laid before General Hand, during the month of January, to the effect that Alexander McKee was making preparation to leave the country and join the British, he wrote him as follows :

“FORT PITT, 7 Feb., 1778.

“SIR:—I am sorry to be under the necessity of repeating my desire of the 29th Dec. last, viz., that you may immediately repair to Yorktown, in Penn., on your parole, there to receive the further directions of the Hon. Continental Board of War.

EDWARD HAND.

“ALEXANDER MCKEE, Esq.”

As this order was peremptory, it was only by McKee feigning sickness that he was permitted to remain in the West. Meanwhile, he was secretly preparing to take as much of his property as was portable with him, and, at the earliest possible moment, start for the Indian country, on his way to Detroit—his ultimate destination. Simon Girty was also, shortly after

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 19, 25; Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 126.

† Pennsylvania Colonial Record, Vol. XI, pp. 513-518, where he is so represented at that date.

‡ Hildreth's *Pioneer History*, p. 180. Compare *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 261.

his return from the "Squaw Campaign," approached by him with specious arguments to induce him to go along. These wiles were successful; and it required no great effort to induce him to turn against his country. He, therefore, made preparations to join McKee in the flight of the latter to the enemy.

On the night of the 28th of March, every thing being ready, McKee and his cousin, Robert Surphlit,* together with Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, a man by the name of Higgins, and two negroes belonging to McKee—in all, seven persons—took their departure for the Indian country, on their way to Detroit.

Matthew Elliott was an Irishman by birth. He had formerly resided in Pennsylvania, east of the Alleghany mountains, and early engaged in the Indian trade—head-quarters at Fort Pitt. He was thus employed when hostilities began, in 1774, between the Virginians and the Shawanese and Mingoes. He remained in the Indian country until after the battle of Point Pleasant and the marching of Lord Dunmore to the Scioto river, protected by the savages. He was, in fact, their messenger sent by the Shawanese asking terms of peace with the Virginia governor. After the ending of Lord Dunmore's War, he again traded from Pittsburgh with the Indians beyond the Ohio, continuing until October, 1776, when he was overtaken, near what is now Dresden, Muskingum county, Ohio, by a party of six Wyandots, and his goods confiscated. He and Michael Herbert, his servant, afterward made their way to Detroit, where, in March, 1777, the former was arrested as a spy. Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton sent him thence to Quebec a prisoner. The next year he was released on parole. He then returned to Pittsburgh, by way of New York.†

* See *The Olden Time*, Vol. II, p. 486, and Taylor's *Ohio*, p. 450, for mention of this man. His name is printed wrong in *Wash.-Irvine Corr.*, p. 17.

† Hamilton to Carleton, April 23, 1778—MS. letter, *Haldimand Papers*. This letter corrects all previous published accounts as to the *status* of Elliott at the time of his flight with McKee. He was not a British spy, nor had he a commission in his pocket, of any sort, from the British government.

"Last Saturday night," says a letter written from Pittsburgh, on the 30th of March, "Mr. McKee, Matt. Elliott, and Simon Girty, together with one Higgins, ran off. McKee's conduct on this occasion is of so infamous a nature, that it will forever render him odious. The general's [Hand's] behavior to him, time after time, when he was ordered below, and his pitiful excuses, seem to infer that his escape was premeditated. His intimacy with Elliott has been very great, and it is conjectured that Elliott brought dispatches for McKee from Quebec. As he was reputed to be a gentleman of the strictest honor and probity, no body had the least idea of his being capable of acting in so base a manner. A man of his capacity, and so well acquainted with the situation of our affairs in this department, will be no unwelcome guest at Detroit."*

Just at this time, General Hand was contemplating an expedition to French creek; indeed, he had commenced gathering men for the enterprise; but he now wrote Colonel William Crawford, who was to take part in the movement, that it would be improper to proceed any further with the undertaking, owing to the escape of the renegades to the enemy.

McKee, with his associates, started from his home, at what is still known as "McKee's Rocks," on the Ohio river, below Pittsburgh. It was reported on Saturday, at Fort Pitt, that they intended to start the next day for the Indian country; whereupon, General Hand ordered out a lieutenant, the next morning, to arrest them, putting under his command a small force for that purpose; but, before the detachment began to march, information was received at Pittsburgh of their flight.

There are numerous traditions current, a number of which have been published, as to the reason or reasons for Simon Girty going over to the enemy. All these are in ignorance of the facts concerning his journey in the fall of 1777 to the Senecas, and his joining, in February, 1778, the expedition under General Hand—the "Squaw Campaign"—in both of which he demonstrated his loyalty to the cause of liberty. They all give some previous (fancied) grievance as the cause

* T. Ewing to Jasper Yeates, in *Historical Register*, Vol. II (June, 1884), p. 157.

of his defection. Thus: he did not get an additional allowance from Virginia for his trip with Wood to the Wyandots in 1775; he was discharged by Colonel George Morgan as interpreter in 1776; he did not succeed in getting the chief command of the military company he had assisted in raising, the office being given to John Stephenson;* he was arrested as a conspirator in 1777. Not one of these was the true reason, for to no one did he let it be known that he intended to flee his country, except to McKee and those collected at the house of the latter; and, surely, they gave no information. How, then, could any patriot know the cause of Girty's flight? However, it is evident that the recent persuasions of McKee and Elliott were the inducements for him to take what he subsequently said was a "too hasty step." Beyond this it were vain to speculate.†

Great was the consternation all along the border when it became known that these men had fled their country, as none could doubt what their influence would be among the hostile savages, to whom it was generally believed they had fled.

"As we drew nearer to Pittsburgh," says one who reached there soon after, "the unfavorable account of the elopement of McKee, Elliott, Girty, and others, from the latter place [Pittsburgh] to the Indian country, for the purpose of instigating the Indians to murder [caused great excitement]. . . . Indeed, the gloomy countenances of all men, women, and children, that we passed, bespoke fear—nay, some families even spoke of leaving their farms and moving off.

"Far greater was the consternation of the people at Pittsburgh," continues the writer, "and especially that of the commandant of the place, Colonel [General] Edward Hand, and Colonel John Gibson, on whom all eyes were fixed with regard to future safety. Of those men who had eloped but a few days since, the worst might reasonably be expected; their disaffection to the United States, their disposition to act hostile, the influence they would have over the minds, at least, of many of

* Compare, for other versions, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, etc.*, pp. 184, 200.

† That Girty subsequently gave reasons for his defection there is no doubt, but that he gave different ones is equally true.

the poor Indians, and the means they would have at command for the purpose of enforcing their evil designs, might be calculated on with certainty." *

But desertions to the enemy did not stop with the seven persons already named. Others were disaffected, including some of the garrison at Fort Pitt. Several, on the night of the 20th of April, stole a boat and fled down the Ohio. Luckily they were overtaken at the mouth of the Muskingum by a party sent after them, and the ringleaders killed or captured. Six of the soldiers and two citizens escaped. Two of those taken were shot, one hanged, and two whipped, receiving one hundred lashes each.†

"I am able to inform you," wrote John Proctor, of Westmoreland county, to Thomas Wharton, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on the 26th of April, "that Captain Alexander McKee, with seven [six] other villains, is gone to the Indians; and, since then, there are a sergeant and twenty odd men gone from Pittsburgh, of the soldiers. What may be the fate of this country, God only knows, but at present it wears a most dismal aspect." ‡

A recent writer says: "Of the reasons which influenced, of the hopes and fears which agitated, and of the miseries and rewards which awaited the loyalists—or, as they were called in the politics of the time, the 'Tories'—of the American Revo-

* John Heckewelder, in his *Narrative of the Moravian Missions*, pp. 174, 175. It is surprising, considering the early date (1820) of the publication of that book, that the year of the flight of these men to the enemy should not since have been generally noted by writers of Western history; yet, with a few exceptions, the year has been heretofore incorrectly given. The statement, virtually, of Heckewelder, that the elopement of McKee, Elliott, Girty, and others, from Pittsburgh to the Indian country, was "for the purpose of instigating the Indians to murder," is erroneous.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 18.

‡ Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VI, p. 445. It has been published that twelve soldiers escaped with the McKee party (*An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, etc.*, p. 184); but this is error. The facts are as disclosed above. In the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 261, it is also said that soldiers escaped with McKee. I had previously corrected the mistake in the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 17, note 2.

lution, but little is known." And he adds: "Men who, like the loyalists, separate themselves from their friends and kindred, who are driven from their homes [or voluntarily leave them], who surrender the hopes and expectations of life, and who become outlaws, wanderers, and exiles, such men leave few memorials behind them."* In a marked degree, this was the case with Simon Girty.† Unlettered (for he could neither read nor write), he left no papers for the inspection of the curious. Had his life then terminated, his name would quickly have passed from the memory of men. A modern Moravian historian declares that "Simon Girty, an adopted Seneca, an inveterate drunkard, a blustering ruffian, seduced by British gold to forsake the Americans, whose interpreter he had been, was now espousing the royal cause with all the baseness of his character."‡ But it is error to say that he was, at this date, an inveterate drunkard, although he occasionally got intoxicated; nor can it be said with justice that he was a ruffian; as, when sober, he was not inclined to be quarrelsome. One fact may be noted—he was, by his friends, very easily persuaded. That he was "seduced by British gold to forsake the Americans," is a groundless charge. He got no gold nor the promise of any. As to "the baseness of his character," he certainly had not at that date a general reputation for meanness—vileness—or even worthlessness; but he was now a renegade—"the base deserter of his native land"—faithless to the patriots, with whom he had previously been identified, and to their principles, which he had all along avowed.

It has long been a tradition that Girty owned landed prop-

* Lorenzo Sabine, in *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (preface to Vol. I).

† Sabine (in his *Biographical Sketches*, just cited) puts Girty down, along with McKee and Elliott, as a loyalist—that is, a Tory. It will be hereafter seen that he was also so recognized by the British government. It seems, however, rather technical to call him such—yesterday a Whig, to-day a Tory. He may be properly designated a renegade, but not in the sense of a vagabond. He is spoken of by Canadian and British historians as a refugee loyalist; and, by some American writers, as simply a refugee.

‡ *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by Edmund de Schweinitz, p. 462, citing Taylor's *Ohio*, pp. 281, 282.

erty in Westmoreland county; that, at one time, he possessed a large tract at or near Hannastown; and that the property afterward belonged to his half-brother, John Turner, being conveyed to the latter by the former. But Girty never possessed any real estate in Western Pennsylvania at any time, as the public records show.

Before following the career of Girty as a renegade, it is to be noted that there is a tradition, which has been repeated with many variations, that he was at one time living at Pittsburgh with a woman, who was his reputed wife; that she was a half-breed, whose father, a white man, resided in one of the settlements not far away; that she was a tall, pretty-looking woman; but that she was frequently treated with cruelty by Girty. Farther than this, nothing is related with any degree of particularity. Whether or not she was alive at the time Girty went over to the enemy with McKee and Elliott, is not added to the relation. But the whole story, it is evident, is fictitious.

NOTE I.—“All the Indian in Girty impelled him to side with the dusky companions of his forest life, and when at this dangerous crisis, he was again approached with specious arguments and seductive promises by Elliott and McKee, who had been for months in the secret pay of the British commander at Detroit, the untaught creature [Simon Girty], with the face of a white man and the heart of an Indian, and with no feeling of loyalty to any flag, either English or American, threw in his lot with the savages and their allies.”—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 261. In this extract are conveyed a number of erroneous impressions: (1) “All the Indian in Girty” had nothing to do with his determination, finally, to go over to the enemy, along with McKee and Elliott. The latter had resolved to join their fortunes with the government which was oppressing the colonies, and they induced Girty to go with them; they sided with the Western Indians on their journey to induce them to become the firm allies of Britain. With the Delawares they failed; their success was better with the Shawanese; they made no attempt to

especially influence the Sandusky Wyandots while on their way to Detroit; (2) Elliott and McKee were not then in pay of the British commander at Detroit; (3) Girty was at times, as hereafter shown, ferociously cruel, and exhibited the utmost savagery, but he was not at heart an Indian; nor did he leave Pittsburgh to throw in his lot with "the dusky companions of his forest life," but with "their allies," the British.

And the same account also says: "Corrupted by Connolly, disappointed in his military hopes, sore over his discharge, and too much of an Indian to be moved by the feelings and principles then stirring the patriotic garrison [of Fort Pitt], but little was needed to induce him to cast his lot with the people of his adoption and their powerful employers." Why, it is proper to ask, would Girty be disappointed in his military hopes—why sore over his discharge if he had no feeling of loyalty to the American flag? And why had he just marched under the same flag and with the same garrison upon the "Squaw Campaign," if "too much of an Indian to be moved by the feelings and principles then stirring" the same soldiers?

NOTE II.—"On the night of the 28th of March, 1778, three or four years later than some writers claim, this now notorious trio [McKee, Elliott, and Simon Girty], together with seven soldiers, fled from the long familiar walls of Fort Pitt, and severed their connection with their country forever. The date of their departure and the attendant circumstances are established beyond question by the official records of Major Isaac Craig, now in the hands of his grandson, the accurate and accomplished Isaac Craig, Esq., of Alleghany, Pennsylvania."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 261. But McKee, Elliott, and Girty fleeing "from the long familiar walls of Fort Pitt" is not strictly correct; it conveys the impression that they belonged to the garrison there, which, of course, they did not, or that that fortification was the point whence they started for the wilderness. How the "official" records of Major Craig could show the date of their flight, is not apparent, as that officer did not reach Pittsburgh for more than two years after.

CHAPTER VIII.

In all the American settlements west of the Alleghany mountains (that is, in the country watered by the Ohio river and its tributaries), there were not to be found previous to their flight three persons so well fitted collectively to work upon the minds of the western Indians for evil to the patriot cause as Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott, and Alexander McKee. General Hand, therefore, believing they had gone to make their homes with the hostile savages, feared the worst from the arrival of these three men among them. Especially was he apprehensive that their wives would induce the Delawares to break their neutrality and immediately declare war against the border.

Not General Hand only, but Colonel Morgan prepared at once pacific and urgent "speeches" to be sent to the Delawares; so certain were they that these savages would be visited by the renegades; and, as a matter of fact, they did go at once to Coshocton, their principal town. But who could be found willing to take the risk of delivering the messages, when it was known that there were war-parties of other tribes hovering about the frontiers? The question was soon settled by John Heckewelder and Joseph Bull, Moravian missionaries, offering to be "bearers of dispatches" to Coshocton. These men had arrived at Pittsburgh anxious to obtain information concerning the missionaries of their church which were located in the Muskingum valley as at present known, and in the valley of the river now called the Tuscarawas. This, added to their laudable desire to serve their country, induced them to brave the dangers of the trip, which, it may be premised, were thought greater than they really were.

The two Moravians reached the Tuscarawas in safety, and Heckewelder proceeded at once to the Coshocton, where he found the Delawares nearly ready to take up arms against the

Americans. They had been told by the renegades (who, as we have said, had made their town a visit) that the patriot armies were all cut to pieces, that General Washington was killed, that there was no more Congress, that the English had hung some of the members and had taken the remainder to England to hang them there, and that the few thousand Americans who had escaped the British soldiers were now embodying themselves west of the mountains for the purpose of killing all the Indians beyond the Ohio—even the women and children.* But the missionary, by the aid of the friendly “speeches” brought with him from Pittsburgh, and some newspapers which confirmed the capture of Burgoyne and his army, soon convinced the savages that they had been deceived; and the visitor was welcomed as a brother. The surging passions of the Delawares, which had been so aroused by the misrepresentations of Girty and his companions, soon settled down to a peaceful calm.†

But where now were the renegades? They had left the banks of the Muskingum before the arrival of Heckewelder. They had done all the mischief in their power while at the Delaware town.

Besides inflaming the savages against the border, McKee had written, on the 4th of April, to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, at Detroit, informing him of his flight. He mentioned that no expedition of any consequence could be undertaken from Fort Pitt by the Virginians against Detroit, but that they meditated some attempt against the Indian villages upon French creek.‡ “Edward Hazle,” wrote Hamilton to Sir Guy Carleton, “who had undertaken to carry a letter from me to the Moravian minister at Coshocton, returned, having executed his commission. He brought me a letter and newspapers from Mr. McKee, who was Indian agent for the crown, and has been a long time in the hands of the rebels at

* Such is the account given many years after by Heckewelder, which is, doubtless, an exaggeration to some extent.

† Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 175-181.

‡ Hamilton to General Carleton, April 23, 1778.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

Fort Pitt. At length, he has found means to make his escape, with three other men, two of the name of Girty (mentioned in Lord Dunmore's list), interpreters, and Matthew Elliott, the young man who last summer was sent down from this place a prisoner. This last person, I am informed, has been in New York since he left Quebec; and, probably, finding the change in affairs unfavorable to the rebels, has slipped away to make his peace here."*

The "list" of "well-disposed" persons sent by Dunmore to Lord George Germain was inclosed to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada in a letter dated at Whitehall on the 26th of March, 1777. "Inclosed," says Germain, "is a list of names of several persons, residing on the frontiers of Virginia, recommended by Lord Dunmore for their loyalty and attachment to government, and who his lordship [Dunmore] thinks will be able to give great assistance to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton through their extensive influence among the inhabitants." On the 21st of May, after its reception, the "list" was sent by Carleton to Hamilton.† To those who imagine that Simon Girty, when he fled from Pittsburgh, was little else than an Indian, the statement of Lord Dunmore that he was one of the number whom his lordship thought had "extensive influence among the inhabitants" there, is especially commended. Dunmore was personally acquainted with Girty, having seen

* MS. letter, April 20, 1778, Haldimand Papers. Hazle's name is erroneously given "Hayle" by Roosevelt. For mention of Hazle in a previous publication, see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 182, note.

† Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, pp. 346-348. It seems that Hamilton, either from a misconception of McKee's letter, or from erroneous information derived from Hazle, got the idea that both Simon and James Girty—"two of the name of Girty"—were with McKee in his flight from Pittsburgh. Without any explanation, the account as it stands in *The Winning of the West* (Vol. II, pp. 4, 5) contradicts itself. Roosevelt first speaks of McKee, Elliott, and *Girty* fleeing together from Pittsburgh. "They all *three* warrad against their countrymen," etc. (The italicizing is mine.) By "Girty," that author means Simon Girty. A foot-note is then added by Roosevelt, containing the letter of Hamilton to Carleton, which says, as we have just seen, that McKee made his escape with three other men, "two of the name of Girty."

him at Pittsburgh, and having employed him, as we have shown, in his division, when marching against the Shawanese and Mingoës, as one of his trusted scouts and interpreters.

McKee and his party had, as already mentioned, left Coshocton. They moved further into the wilderness, away from this neutral tribe, to one already in great part in arms against the border—to the Shawanese, upon the Scioto, to a point some distance down that river from the site of the present city of Columbus, Ohio. But a message soon followed them, sent by the Delaware chief, White Eyes: "Grandchildren, ye Shawanese! Some days ago, a flock of birds that had come on from the East lit at Goschochking [Coshocton], imposing a song of theirs upon us, which song had nigh proved our ruin! Should these birds, which, on leaving us, took their flight toward the Scioto, endeavor to impose a song on you likewise, do not listen to them, for they lie."* It was in this emphatic but figurative language the Delaware chief made known his views to the Shawanese concerning the visit of the three renegades and their followers; but the words of White Eyes did not avail any thing with the "grandchildren" of his tribe upon the Scioto.

The stay of the white men at the Scioto towns was somewhat prolonged. They met there, James Girty, who was easily persuaded to desert the cause of his country and remain with the Shawanese. He at once committed himself to the British interests, and helped, in no small degree, to turn those of the tribe who were yet wavering, from all thoughts of peace with the United States. He appropriated the presents that had been intrusted to him for the Indians, and was, thenceforward, a traitor to the cause he had been so recently aiding.†

On the 23d of April, Hamilton, at Detroit, wrote to Carleton, that "Hazle went off again, to conduct them [McKee and his party] all safe through the [Indian] villages, having a letter and wampum [from the lieutenant-governor] for that purpose."

* Heckewelder Narrative, p. 182.

† Compare Hildreth's Pioneer History, p. 130.

“Alexander McKee,” adds Hamilton, “is a man of good character, and has great influence with the Shawanese; is well acquainted with the country, and can probably give some useful intelligence. He will probably reach this place [Detroit] in a few days.” *

In May, McKee, Elliott, Simon Girty, and others, departed from the Shawanese towns for Detroit—the point of destination when they fled from the vicinity of Pittsburgh—but James Girty was not of the party. They were conducted on their journey by Hazle. Their route was through the Wyandot villages upon the Sandusky river; they were helped on particularly by Snip, a Wyandot war chief, from the Scioto.† One of the Wyandot towns—Upper Sandusky—was, at that time, located less than three miles up the stream (but upon the opposite side) from the present site of the town of the same name—county seat of Wyandot county, Ohio; the other—Lower Sandusky—was situated at or near what is now Fremont—county seat of Sandusky county, that state.

It has been published that Girty was made prisoner by the Wyandots; but being recognized by some Senecas, the latter demanded him as their prisoner; stating, at the same time, the nature of their claim to him; that he had been adopted by them, and had afterward returned to his countrymen, and joined them in their war against the tribe who now demanded him. The Wyandots ignored the claim of the Senecas, so the story runs. “By your own showing,” said they, “he only returned to his own country and people. After that, he was not yours. When again captured, he belongs to those who took him. This was done by our warriors. He is therefore our prisoner.” Then Girty said to his captors in the Seneca tongue (as if he had not yet learned to speak the Wyandot language with much fluency), that he had been badly treated at Fort Pitt by his own people, on account of being true to the king and his cause, and that he was, therefore, forced to leave the country, and that he was now on his way to Detroit to take

* MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, pp. 450, 451.

up arms against the Americans. He was thereupon set at liberty. But all this has no foundation in fact.*

Leaving the Sandusky, McKee and his associates had all reached Detroit before the middle of June,† where they were received with open arms by the lieutenant-governor, who immediately engaged Girty as interpreter for the Six Nations—he thus becoming a regular employe of the British Indian department, his compensation being fixed at two dollars (sixteen York shillings) a day. That this was the pay he was to receive is inferable from a list, in existence, of officers, inspectors, smiths, and others in the Indian department at Detroit, dated the 24th of October, 1779, containing the amount allowed each for his services. Although this list was made out more than a year after Girty reached Detroit, yet there would seem to be no good reason why he should have received a less amount at the time of his first engaging his services to the British commandant than is therein specified, which is “sixteen shillings, York currency, per day.”‡

It may now be stated that Girty's life was thenceforth very largely devoted to the interests of the British government, directly or indirectly. “We heard,” wrote White Eyes, from Coshocton, to Morgan, on the 19th of July, “that Simon Girty and Lamothe [a noted French-Canadian], were gone down the river St. Lawrence, with as many men as they could spare at Detroit.” But Girty was not sent eastward. His field of operations, as will presently be shown, was to be principally the Ohio wilderness and the western border settlements.

At a council began at Detroit on the 14th of June, 1778, with the Ottawas, Chippeways, Hurons (Wyandots), Pottawattamies, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Mingoes, Mohawks, and others, there were present, besides the Indians, Lieuten-

* See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, p. 186, for this story, given to the public by the writer of this narrative, upon the assurance of William Walker as to its being a reliable tradition; but it is now known to be wholly fictitious.

† *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 442.

‡ Walker's Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (1871), p. 41.

ant-Governor Hamilton, superintendent; Lieutenant-Governor Edward Abbott, late of Vincennes; Jehu Hay, department agent; "Mr. McKee, late department agent" at Fort Pitt; several officers of the Indian department; Captain Lernoult and Lieutenant Caldwell, of the King's regiment; interpreters William Tucker, Joseph Drouillard, Simon Girty (not, however, recognized as such until the next day), Isidore Chesne, Duperron Baby, and Charles Beaubin. On the fifteenth, it is recorded that "Simon Girty was then brought forward and declared an interpreter as having escaped from the Virginians and put himself under the protection of his majesty, after giving satisfactory assurances of his fidelity."*

That Hamilton should have favorably looked upon Simon Girty is not a matter of wonder; he had, as we have seen previously, heard of him through the "list" of Lord Dunmore as not only "well disposed to his majesty's government," but as a lieutenant in the Virginia militia at Pittsburgh. Of course, also, he was vouched for by McKee.

McKee was, as might be expected, better rewarded than Elliott or Girty. He was at once made captain and interpreter in the Indian department;† also subsequently appointed Indian commissary, or deputy Indian agent. As captain, he was thenceforth known as an "Indian officer," a title bestowed upon all those who had previously, or who afterward, received such an official military recognition (or one of less rank) in the British Indian Department. Elliott had to abide his time; but Girty was not then, nor was he subsequently, honored with any position other than that of interpreter, which was in no sense a military office.

A recent writer declares that Hamilton "organized a troop of white rangers from among the French, British, and Tories at Detroit. They acted as allies of the Indians, and furnished leaders to them. Three of these leaders were the Tories

* Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, pp. 442, 444.

† Id., p. 470. Hamilton originally commenced appointing persons as captains of Indians.—(p. 433.)

McKee, Elliott, and [Simon] Girty.* But the lieutenant-governor did not organize "a troop of white rangers" at that place, as will hereafter be more fully explained. Nor was Simon Girty ever a leader in any military organization formed either by that officer or his successors. Hamilton organized the militia there, it is true, but neither McKee, Elliott, or Girty was enrolled therein.†

James Girty did not reach Detroit until the middle of August. "A brother of Simon Girty (the interpreter)," wrote the lieutenant-governor, "who made his escape from Fort Pitt with Captain McKee, came in a day or two ago. He says the Delawares still go to Fort Pitt, but it is only until their corn be ripe enough to allow their moving to the head-waters of the Scioto, a place pointed out for them by the Six Nations. If they do remove, the frontiers will repent it severely."‡ James immediately returned and took up his residence among the Shawanese, engaged by Hamilton at two dollars a day to go to war with, or interpret for them, as his services might be most needed. He spoke the language of those Indians, as before explained, with fluency. Simon, also, in obedience to instructions, accompanied James to the Ohio wilderness, going at once to reside among the Mingoes to interpret for them, or to go with war-parties of those savages against the border, as the exigencies of the times might demand. Each was allowed one and one-half rations a day, and presented with a gun, a saddle and bridle, and three horses.

Hamilton found the two Girtys willing and effective agents, as will be presently shown, in helping to carry out the policy

* Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 4.

† Roosevelt, in five pages farther on than the one last cited, gets better information on the point of Simon Girty's employment. "He seems," that author now assures his readers, "to have often fought with the Indians as one of their own number."

‡ Hamilton to Lieutenant-Governor H. T. Cramahe, August 17, 1778—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. Roosevelt says (in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 21, note): "August 17, 1778, Girty reports that four hundred Indians have gone to attack 'Fort Kentuck.'" The inference here is that it was Simon Girty, and that he had just come (or returned) from the Ohio wilderness, which, of course, is error.

of the British government (made more cruel by his own barbarous methods) toward the Americans. The latitude given him in his instructions was taken advantage of to make more wanton and bloodthirsty the war then raging along the western borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and for which, as has been shown, he was directly responsible. Scalps of those who, to the moment of receiving the fatal bullet or their death-blow by the tomahawk, were unsuspecting and helpless, and prisoners of all ages and both sexes who had survived the perils of the march to Detroit, were received by him from the savages with delight, which immediately afterward would find expression in presents bestowed with a liberal hand upon his barbarous allies. Hamilton attempted to justify himself by declaring that the American borderers, by "their arrogance, disloyalty, and impudence, had justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war." But those exercising cruelty are never in want of excuses for so doing.*

By the middle of June, 1778, the government of Pennsylvania had been sufficiently advised of the defection of the two Girtys, and of Elliott and McKee, to proclaim them as aiding and abetting the common enemy. On the fifteenth, at Lancaster, the Supreme Executive Council of the state ordered that a proclamation under the state seal be issued, declaring that Alexander McKee, formerly Indian trader; Simon Girty, Indian interpreter; James Girty, laborer; and Matthew Elliott, Indian trader; and one other—all then or late of the county of Westmoreland (among many more in different portions of the state)—had severally adhered to and knowingly and willingly aided and assisted the enemies of the state and of the United States of America; therefore, "the

* Roosevelt (Vol. II, p. 87) speaks of Hamilton as one "who merely carried out the orders of his superiors." That this is erroneous there can be no question. He did more. But that he offered a standing reward for white scalps, as has been stated by many writers (and among them the author of this narrative), is a mistake. However, the course taken by the lieutenant-governor in amply rewarding the Indians (though in the form of presents) immediately after the presentation to him of their bloody trophies, was, to the savage mind, equivalent to such an offer.

Supreme Executive Council aforesaid, by virtue of certain powers and authorities to" them "given," did charge and require Alexander McKee, Simon Girty, James Girty, and Matthew Elliott, to "render themselves" respectively to some or one of the justices of the Supreme Court, or of the justices of the peace of one of the counties within that state, on or before the third day of August, and abide their legal trial for adhering to the enemies of the country, on pain, if not so appearing, of standing and being attainted of high treason.*

The crime of McKee, viewed from the American standpoint, was especially flagrant because of his being in reality a prisoner to the patriots on parole, and of Simon Girty because of his having previously accepted a commission in their service and taken the oath of office. As to Elliott, it was not quite so bad—it was simply that he was now "aiding and abetting the common enemy;" so, also, as to James Girty. As neither one of the four fugitives made his appearance before any Pennsylvania tribunal to be absolved from the charge made against him, all were declared guilty and adjudged traitors.†

NOTE I.—That a letter was sent by Hamilton, at Detroit, to one of the Moravian missionaries upon the Tuscarawas (in the present state of Ohio), naturally awakens a curiosity to know its contents. It was dispatched January 11, 1778. The writer of the missive afterward gives the purport of it in a letter to his superior:

"Four days since, a young man [Edward Hazle] set out from this place [Detroit] to the Delaware towns, where a Moravian minister resides, with the design of engaging him to disperse some papers signed by several of the prisoners taken and brought in by the Indians—the purport of them to show that persons well affected to government may be assured

* Pennsylvania Colonial Record, Vol. XI, pp. 512–518.

† This is evident from the petition of James McKee of the 18th of August, 1778, presented to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. See Pennsylvania Colonial Record, Vol. XII, p. 76.

of a safe conduct to this place, if they will agree upon a place of rendezvous, and that an officer (of the Indian Department), with an interpreter, shall be sent to escort them through the Indian villages."—Hamilton to General Carleton [January 15, 1778], in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 432. It is certain, however, that it contained, in addition, a request for the missionaries to arm their Indians and march against the "rebels." But that he actually wrote the Moravian teachers to attack them indiscriminately on their farms and in their settlements, slaying without mercy, and to bring their scalps to Detroit, as the exaggeration of Heckewelder has it, can not be believed. Hamilton would not have so written, however much the language would have been in accord with his wishes. Schweinitz, in his *Life of Zeisberger* (pp. 460, 461), not dreaming that it can be possible for Heckewelder to "stretch the truth," is in great doubt as to the genuineness of Hamilton's letter, notwithstanding it had "an official seal" affixed.

NOTE II.—"About 1777 [spring of 1778], both brothers [Simon and James Girty] had been [were] seduced by the British emissaries," says an Ohio writer, "and are known to border tradition as renegades. This is hardly just. They should not be regarded otherwise than as Indians of their respective tribes. Such had been their training—their education. They were white savages—nothing else."—Taylor's *Ohio*, p. 282, note. Here, however, far too much stress is put upon the previous Indian training of the two brothers. They were not then "white savages—nothing else." They were not "savages in every respect, except in the color of their skin"—"white Indians," as they have also been called—when they left Pittsburgh; and they did not fly to the wilderness simply because of the cravings of their untamed natures; for, had their sojourn with the tribes, which had adopted them in their young days, caused such longings for the woods, they would have, years before, escaped from the haunts of white men. It was, to a great extent, the influence brought to bear

on them by others who were disaffected (which influence was exerted because of the war then existing) that induced them, in 1778, to leave their country to put themselves under the protection of Hamilton at Detroit.

NOTE III.—It has found its way into print concerning Simon Girty, that “although he called himself ‘Captain Girty,’ yet whether he ever received a commission from the British government as did his associate Elliott, is a mooted question.”—See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782*,” p. 187. But there is no longer a doubt on the subject; he was not commissioned to any military office—simply hired as an interpreter, as previously declared in this chapter. He is always spoken of in the correspondence of the commandants at Detroit as “interpreter,” never as an “Indian officer;” nor is he ever called “captain” by them, as was McKee and subsequently Elliott.

NOTE IV.—A young man, John Leith, an American by birth, who had been a number of years among the Indians, and who was then at Detroit, reports an interview which took place between himself and Governor Hamilton: “He [Hamilton] said . . . if I would join the Indian department under his command, he would give me two dollars per day, and one and a half rations, exclusively. I then asked him what he wanted me to do. He answered he wanted me to interpret for them [the Indians], and sometimes to go to war with them against their enemies.”—*A Short Biography of John Leeth*, by Ewel Jeffries, pp. 9, 10. See, also, a reprint of the pamphlet, by Robert Clarke & Co. (Cincinnati, 1883), with illustrative notes, pp. 24, 25.

NOTE V.—Hamilton, with the opening of the year 1778, increased his efforts in sending along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia (in the last named is included Kentucky), “parties of savages, whose reckless cruelty won his applause.”

"The parties sent hence," he wrote on the 15th of January, to Carleton, from Detroit, "have been generally successful, though the Indians have lost enough to sharpen their resentment." "They have brought in seventy-three prisoners alive," he adds, "twenty of which they presented to me, and a hundred and twenty-nine scalps," which bloody trophies, torn from the heads of men, women, and children, he could have said with truth, were also given him. On the 17th of September, 1778, he wrote to General Frederick Haldimand, that since the preceding May, the Indians in his district had taken thirty-four prisoners, seventeen of which they had delivered up, and eighty-one scalps. Several prisoners that had been captured and adopted by the savages were not included in this number.—*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 431, 476, 477.

Leith relates that upon one occasion, in Detroit, while upon the bank of the river, he saw Hamilton and several other British officers standing and sitting around. "Immediately, . . . the Indians produced a large quantity of scalps; the cannon fired; the Indians raised a shout, and the soldiers waved their hats with huzzas and tremendous shrieks which lasted some time. This ceremony being ended, the Indians brought forward a parcel of American prisoners, as a trophy of their victories, among whom were eighteen women and children, poor creatures, dreadfully mangled and emaciated, with their clothes tattered and torn to pieces in such a manner as not to hide their nakedness; their legs bare and streaming with blood, the effects of being torn with thorns, briars, and brush. . . . The governor . . . seemed to take great delight in the exhibition."—*A Short Biography of John Leith*, before cited, p. 11 (*Cincinnati reprint*, pp. 29, 30). Compare *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 7.

NOTE VI.—After a general denial as to Hamilton having paid out money for scalps, Roosevelt erroneously adds (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 3): "But scalps were certainly bought and paid for at Detroit," citing, as an authority,

which is now known to be wholly fictitious, *The American Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 291. Again (on p. 87), Roosevelt declares, that "undoubtedly the British, at Detroit, followed the [previous] example of the French, in paying money to the Indians for the scalps of their foes. . . . Apparently," continues that writer, "the best officers utterly disapproved of the whole business of scalp-buying; but it was eagerly followed by many of the reckless agents and partisan leaders, British, Tories, and Canadians." He also says (p. 3): "But they [the Detroit commandant and the higher British officers] . . . connived at the measures of their subordinates. These were hardened, embittered, men who paid for the zeal of their Indian allies accordingly as they received tangible proof thereof; in other words, they hired them to murder non-combatants as well as soldiers, and paid for each life, of any sort, that was taken." This last sentence is error beyond all question.

CHAPTER IX.

Mention has already been made of the migration, immediately after the conclusion of Lord Dunmore's War, to the Kentucky country, and that the people there were soon attacked by the savages. The year 1777 was one of stirring incidents for that region. The Indians early began to appear around the forts which had been erected by the settlers for their protection. In March, a large war-party appeared before Harrodsburg. Boonesborough, in April, was assailed; then again by a large party of savages, in May, but without capturing the fort. Soon after, a party of forty-five white men reached the place from North Carolina. On the thirtieth, Logan's fort was attacked.

In the same month, burgesses were chosen to represent Kentucky county in the Virginia legislature, and in September the first court was held. George Rogers Clark, conceiving the idea of capturing the Illinois country, sent spies thither, who reported to him the condition of things existing there. He subsequently went over the mountains. While there, the Virginia authorities determined to undertake the conquest of the Illinois, then in possession of the British, and they put Clark at the head of the expedition. The result will presently be given.

During this year, so severe and disastrous had been the aggressions of the Indians, that many of the settlers became discouraged—in fact, only three settlements proved permanent: "Harrodstown," Boonesborough, and Logan's fort. Simon Kenton, soon to be more particularly mentioned, was employed mainly as a spy to give the forts timely notice of the approach of the savages.

In the early part of the year, 1778, Indian marauds were

more than usually successful. Daniel Boone* and twenty-seven others were captured. Boone, who had been taken across the Ohio, having knowledge of the assembling of a large number of warriors with the avowed intention of attacking Boonesborough, made his escape and reached the post in time to save it and the others from capture.

In January, Clark, now a lieutenant-colonel, arrived from the Virginia capital, in the settlements upon the Monongahela, to enlist soldiers for the enterprise against the Illinois. By the end of the month, he had all his recruiting parties properly disposed, and, at Redstone-old-fort, he prepared boats, light artillery, and ammunition. Many of the backwoodsmen opposed the undertaking; and he only succeeded in collecting, with some aid east of the mountains, about one hundred and fifty men, when, on the 12th of May, he "set sail for the falls" of the Ohio, "leaving the country," he wrote, "in great confusion—much distressed by the Indians." "General Hand," he added, "pleased with my intentions, furnished me with every necessary I wanted." He was reinforced, on his way down the river, by a small number of troops at Fort Randolph. His men were mostly Virginians, and all were in the Virginia service. The result was the capture of Fort Gage and the Illinois towns—a conquest, as it proved, of great importance to the United States, and one reflecting much credit upon Virginia. An envoy sent by Clark to Vincennes, upon the Wabash, where there were no British troops stationed, induced its inhabitants to side with the Americans, and Weatanon, further up that river, was also captured by a small force; so that, without the loss of a man, the reduction of the Illinois and Wabash settlements was complete.

With Clark, in his march to the Illinois country, went Simon Kenton, who had joined the former on his way down the Ohio.†

* Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, spells the name of this Kentucky Pioneer without an *e*. But "Boone" is too firmly established ever to be changed.

† Many writers, in giving the particulars of Simon Kenton's life, speak of his playing a prominent part under Clark in the capture of the Illinois. All such traditions which have found their way into print are wholly erro-

Kenton, before the capture of Vincennes, returned to Kentucky, when, with Boone and nineteen men, he undertook an expedition in a small way against the Shawanese on the north side of the Ohio. The party met a number of Indians, and put them to flight. This was followed by an immediate but unsuccessful attack, on the part of the Indians, against Boonesborough. Kenton then lay about the last-named fort and Logan's until inactivity became irksome to him; so, about the 1st of September, 1778, he prepared for another foray across the Ohio. Alexander Montgomery and George Clark joined him, and they set off for the Indian country, not so much for the purpose of killing savages as of obtaining horses from them. The result of their expedition will presently be shown.

It was, as we have already seen, understood by Hamilton, at Detroit, that Simon Girty and his brother, James, were not to remain passive with the tribes they were to join in the Ohio wilderness, but each was to do the best possible service, either in interpreting or fighting—Simon to go to the Mingoes, and James to return to the Shawanese. And it has also been explained that they took up their residence with the tribes just mentioned. The villages of the Mingoes were to be seen as far down the Scioto as what is now Columbus, the capital of Ohio, and up that river to its head streams, while some were located on the upper waters of the Mad river, a tributary of the Great Miami. There were two principal routes from Detroit to the Mingo country, one down the Detroit river and across the head of Lake Erie to the Sandusky bay, thence up the Sandusky river and across a portage to the waters of the Scioto; another ran around the west end of the lake, crossing the Maumee, and leading thence to the Mingo towns. The Shawanese occupied a more extensive region. Their villages were not only upon the lower Scioto, but westward upon the two Miami rivers. In the Mad river country, there were several. The routes to them from Detroit

neous. In the various accounts of that expedition given by Clark himself, Kenton's name is not once mentioned.

were but continuations of those to the homes of the Mingoes, leading on further southward and south-eastward.*

When the two Girtys had reached the Indian tribes to which they had been accredited by Hamilton, neither had yet imbuéd his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Neither one had marched, as yet, against the border to kill and destroy. But a war-party was now made up, and the two, with one John Ward, and a number of Mingoes and Shawanese, started for a maraud into Kentucky. Of the particulars of this adventure we know nothing further than that it resulted in the taking of seven scalps and the bringing of a Mrs. Mary Kennedy and seven children as captives into the wilderness.† The three white men and the Indians returned to the Shawanese villages, and were received with yells of delight by the savages. The two Girtys and Ward, passing onward, finally, with one Indian, reaching Wapatomica, an Indian town,‡ where a council was being held by the Shawanese over a prisoner, particulars of whose capture it is now our purpose to relate, not, however, until the circumstances under which Simon and James Girty commenced their death-dealing career in the settlements southward across the Ohio are briefly considered.

The language of the British minister, in his instructions to Hamilton, to place "proper persons" at the head of the savages, "to conduct their parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well-affected and inoffensive inhabit-

* Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 143, classes the Shawanese along with other tribes as "Sandusky Indians." But no Shawanese ever dwelt upon the Sandusky or any of its tributaries.

† *Sketches of Western Adventure*, by John A. McClung (Philadelphia: 1832), p. 115. This work is not always to be depended upon. However, the account very briefly given of the two Girtys' first adventure upon the war-path seems to be entitled to full credit. One fact stated above is from another authority.

‡ Synonyms: Wappatomica, Waukataumikee, Wagetomica, Wapatomika, Wakatomika, Wachatomakak, Waccotomica, Wakitamiki, Waughcotomoco. It was sometimes spoken of during the Revolution as "the upper Shawanese village," from its being the uppermost upon any of the tributaries of the Great Miami. It was, of course, the nearest of any to Detroit. It was the head-quarters of James Girty.

ants" was plain enough, but was wholly disregarded by the lieutenant-governor. By him, many persons of little or no character, but who had a strong liking for Indians generally and for their savage ways, were engaged to go to war as leaders of the Indians, when the probabilities all were that, instead of restraining their dusky associates, they would only strive to vie with them in their deeds of cruelty toward the "in-offensive" borderers. Simon and James Girty had long been intimate with Indians, and it is not surprising that, under the direction and at the request of Hamilton to go to war when expedient, they soon took up the hatchet, and along with Mingoes and Shawanese marauded into the exposed settlements of Kentucky.

That the journey of the two brothers to Detroit when they first placed themselves under the lieutenant-governor there, was not made with any intention of going upon the war-path along with the savage allies of Britain, there is every reason to believe. If they had had a particular desire at the time they were in the Ohio wilderness before seeing Hamilton to tomahawk and scalp their own countrymen, why did they not at once join the Indians at the Scioto towns for that purpose? The lieutenant-governor, then, was directly responsible for encouraging—nay, requiring—the two Girtys (as he had already others), to go with the Indians against the American settlements. How ferociously they subsequently performed this duty that had been assigned them, may be imagined by the success attending their first foray across the Ohio. It is especially erroneous to suppose that when Simon Girty left his countrymen for good that he did so for the express purpose of returning to savage life—simply to go back to the Indians to live with them. This, however, has heretofore been the prevailing idea.*

* See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky Under Col. William Crawford in 1782*, pp. 184, 185. Compare "Girty. The White Indian," in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 260, 261.

"He [Girty] soon returned to the Indians [after Lord Dnrmore's War]," says Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 220), "and dwelt among them ever afterwards, the most inveterate foe of the whites that was

It will be remembered that Kenton, when he left Boone's Station to cross the Ohio into the Indian country, had for his companions Alexander Montgomery and George Clark. The party after crossing the river proceeded cautiously toward the Shawanese village of Chillicothe, frequently called in early accounts "Old Chillicothe," located upon the upper waters of the Little Miami, three miles north of what is now Xenia, Ohio. It has generally been supposed that the Chillicothe toward which Kenton and his companions made their way was the one known as Old Town, in what is now Ross county, on the site of the present Frankfort; such, however, was not the fact, as will hereafter be seen.

In the night they fell in with some horses that were feeding in the rich prairies. The adventurers were prepared with salt and halters, still they had much difficulty in catching the animals. Seven were secured, and the whole were started with all speed for the Ohio, the party reaching the river near the mouth of Eagle creek, in what is now Brown county, Ohio. The horses, because of a strong wind blowing at the time, which raised the waves high, could not be urged to take the water. Upon the bank of the stream, therefore, Kenton and his companions remained until the next day, when their efforts to cross to the Kentucky side were equally futile. As there could be no doubt but that they were now pursued by the savages, no time was to be lost; so they undertook to make the best of their way down the river to the falls, but it was too late; the Indians were upon them. Kenton was captured, Montgomery was killed and scalped, but Clark made his escape, reaching Logan's Station in safety.

The savages started the next day for their towns, but not until Kenton had been tied Mazeppa-like upon the back of one of their wildest horses, which was then turned loose for the amusement of the Indians. The animal, after running,

to be found in all the tribes. He lived to be a very old man, and is said to have died fighting his ancient foes and kinsmen, the Americans, in our second war against the British." In this extract there are radical errors, which are sufficiently corrected in subsequent chapters of this narrative.

plunging, rearing, and kicking, finally submitted to its burden, and quietly followed the others. Just before reaching Chillicothe, the population of the place came out to see the prisoner, and he received a terrible beating at their hands. After this, he was forced to run the gauntlet, which came near putting an end to his existence. When he had somewhat revived, he was given something to eat and some water to drink. It was now determined that he should be tortured to death at the stake, but not there.

Kenton was then taken first to Piqua (sometimes in early histories incorrectly spelled Pickaway), which was about twelve miles in a northerly direction from Chillicothe, and on the north bank of the Mad river, five miles west of the present site of Springfield, in Clark county, Ohio; thence to Mac-a-chack (or Mac-a-cheek, as it is now written), near what is now West Liberty, in the same state. At both these Indian villages, he was again compelled to run the gauntlet. While at the one last mentioned, he came very near making his escape.

His treatment was now more terrible than before; still his life was spared. His tormentors moved with him finally to Wapatomica, where he was to be tortured, which was just below the present Zanesfield, in Logan county, Ohio, not a great distance from Mac-a-check. Here, as before, he was compelled to run the gauntlet, during which he was severely hurt. Immediately after, he was taken to the council house. While sitting upon the floor, silent and dejected, with his face blackened—a sure indication that he was doomed to death—the door suddenly opened, and in walked Simon Girty, his brother James, John Ward, and the Indian, with their eight captives and seven scalps.

Kenton was instantly removed from the council house. The arrival of the two Girtys and their party changed the deliberations of the assembled warriors from Kenton for the time. The meeting was, in consequence, protracted until a late hour. At length, Kenton was brought back. He was greeted, as he entered the house, with a savage scowl. Simon Girty threw

a blanket upon the floor, and harshly ordered him to take a seat upon it. The order was not immediately complied with, and Girty impatiently seized his arm, jerked him roughly upon the blanket, and pulled him down upon it. This insolence clearly shows that the renegade had no sympathy for the helpless prisoner. It proves conclusively that he had not in any way, in the council, attempted to save his life. He was only anxious to learn of the unfortunate captive where he lived, that he might get from him as many facts as possible to aid Britain and her savage allies in their depredations upon the border, when he would leave him to his doom.

Of course, Simon Girty did not recognize his old companion-in-arms, blackened as was the visage of the latter; so he began to question him in a rough and menacing tone, little dreaming that he was talking to Simon Butler—the name Kenton was known by upon the border—though the latter at once knew Girty.* To the first inquiry as to where he lived, Kenton replied, “in Kentucky.” Then Girty asked him how many men were there, and other similar questions, Kenton leading him astray in many ways by his answers. Finally, the prisoner was asked his name. The answer was “Simon Butler!” Girty eyed him a moment, then rushed to him and embraced him, calling him his dear and esteemed friend. “Well, you are condemned to die,” said he to Kenton; “but I will use every means in my power to save your life!”

Girty immediately made a long speech to the savages to save the life of their prisoner. As he proceeded, Kenton could plainly see the grim visages of the Indians relent. When Girty had concluded his appeal for his old-time friend, the savages rose with one simultaneous exclamation of approbation, and Kenton was saved. Girty at once took him under his care and protection. British traders from Detroit had an establishment at this time in Wapatomica. Girty took

* “It was indeed the hated traitor, . . . who never before or afterward was known to spare one of his own race whom fortune placed in his power.”—R. F. Coleman, in *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 298. The latter part of this statement is most erroneous, and could only have been made by one wholly ignorant of his previous and subsequent career.

Kenton with him to the store, and dressed him from head to foot; he also provided him with a horse and saddle.

Some time after this, a war party of Indians who had been on an expedition to the neighborhood of Wheeling, returned; they had been defeated by the borderers—some killed, others wounded. They were sullen, chagrined, and filled with revenge. They were determined to kill any prisoner they met. Kenton just then was the only one upon whom they could pour their vials of wrath. He and his deliverer were then at Solomon's town, a small distance from Wapatomica. It was a Mingo village on the way northward to Upper Sandusky, and was the headquarters of Girty.* A message was immediately sent by the infuriated savages to the latter to return and bring Kenton with him. The messenger met them on the way, shook hands with Girty, but refused the hand of Kenton. Girty, after talking aside with the Indian some time, said to Kenton that they had been sent for to attend a grand council at Wapatomica. All three hurried to the village, and when they reached the council-house it was crowded. When Girty went in, the Indians all rose up and shook hands with him, but the proffered hand of Kenton was refused with a scowl of contempt that boded evil. After those present were seated, the war-chief of the defeated party stood up and made a vehement speech, frequently turning his fiery and revengeful eyes on Kenton during its deliverance. The purport of the savage's harangue was that the prisoner should be put to death. The next speaker was Girty, who again made an earnest appeal for the life of his friend. He was followed by several chiefs, giving their views in the matter. It was finally decided, by an overwhelming majority, that death at the stake should be the doom of Kenton.

Girty spoke kindly to the unfortunate man, but frankly declared he could do no more for him. However, at Girty's request, Kenton was taken by the Indians to Upper Sandusky

* Solomon's town was three miles north of the present Huntsville, or about nine above what is now Bellefontaine, Ohio. It was subsequently occupied by Wyandots.

to suffer torture; once there, and he escaped death through the intercession of a trader; was sent to Detroit, from which place he subsequently fled, and arrived in Kentucky in safety.*

In after years, Kenton frequently related to interested spectators the particulars of his escape from death by the efforts of Girty. "He was good to me," he would say. "When he came up to me, after the Indians had painted me black, I knew him at once. He asked me a good many questions, but I thought it best not to be too forward, and I held back from telling him my name; but, when I did tell him, oh! he was mighty glad to see me. He flung his arms around me, and cried like a child. I never did see one man so glad to see another. He made a speech to the Indians—he could speak the Indian tongue, and knew how to speak—and told them, if they meant to do him a favor, they must do it now, and save my life. Girty afterward, when we were together, cried to me like a child often, and told me he was sorry for the part he had taken against his countryman; that he was too hasty. But he was good to me; and it was no wonder. When we see our fellow-creatures every day, we don't care for them; but it is different when you meet a man all alone in the woods—the wild, lonely woods."

Girty "exhibited on this occasion [the saving of Kenton's life]," says an account already frequently referred to, "at least, a generosity and nobility of soul which would have done credit to a more enlightened and more civilized character."† But, the question is, what would Girty have done for him had he (Kenton) proved a stranger? We can only judge by what his actions were toward him before he was recognized. These clearly indicate that he would have left him to his fate, without any effort in his behalf. The dictates of a broad human-

* Compare, as to the captivity of Kenton and the saving of his life by Girty, McClung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*, pp. 104-124; John McDonald's *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 221-240; *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XXVIII, art. "Simon Kenton," where a cut is given (imaginative, of course) of the interview between Girty and Kenton, at Wapatomica.

† *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 262.

ity had, therefore, little or nothing to do with his exertions in Kenton's behalf; it was simply a spasmodic feeling of compassion for an old associate and friend; which, a mere impulse as it was, is nevertheless to be commended.

Girty's remorse for what he had already done against the borderers, as might be expected, gradually wore off; and he soon became, as we shall presently see, very vindictive in his feelings. Kenton never saw him afterward.

NOTE I.—That it was determined at Chillicothe to torture Kenton to death at the stake, there can be no doubt. And it was there also settled by the savages that it was to take place at their principal town—Wapatomica. It seems equally certain, also, that his face was painted black as soon as he was sentenced to die. Roosevelt erroneously supposes that it was the second place the Indians came to, and that that place was the Pickaway Plains, where sentence was first passed upon him by his captors. The next place reached after leaving Chillicothe (near what is now Xenia, Ohio) was the Shawanese village of Piqua. No council was held there. It is a fact, therefore, that sentence of death was not passed upon the captive at the Pickaway Plains, nor was he to be tortured there. The Pickaway Plains are on the east side of the Scioto, below the present Columbus, Ohio. Kenton was not there at any time during his captivity.

The Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 262, also makes a mistake as to the place where Girty rescued Kenton. "It was while Girty was in the Ohio country, and in the fall of the same year that he fled from Fort Pitt, that the most creditable act of his life took place. The Indians, who were then constantly on the war-path, brought home many captives, and among them the redoubtable Simon Kenton, whom they had taken to Wapakoneta, and had already doomed to the stake, when he was recognized by Girty with astonishment and delight as his old comrade of the Dunmore expedition. At once, and at the risk of destroying both his standing and

influence among his inflamed and suspicious people, Girty exerted himself to the utmost to save him, and at length, after the most earnest and impassioned speeches, the power of which is attested by the effect it had upon a crowded council of prejudiced and revengeful savages, he succeeded, and taking the rejoicing Kenton to his own cabin, he fed him, clothed him and dressed his neglected wounds." But there was no Wapakoneta in existence until long after the Revolution.

There are other errors to be noticed in this extract. The Indians, when they captured Kenton, were not on the war-path, as is here inferred. Girty did not "at once" exert himself to save Kenton. The writer also speaks of the Indians who had captured Kenton as "his [Girty's] inflamed and suspicious people." Now, these Indians were Shawanese; but had they been Mingoes, they could not properly be spoken of as *his* people. No tribe was *his* tribe—no savage nation *his* nation.

NOTE II.—Kenton's captivity and the incidents connected with it are, to a large extent, only known through John A. McClung's Sketches of Western Adventure. That writer declares that Kenton's adventures (meaning, among others, his being taken prisoner, when his life was saved by Girty) were copied by him from a manuscript account dictated to another by the pioneer himself. It is certain, however, that much of what is said concerning the action of Girty is purely imaginary, and could not have been taken from Kenton's lips. Words are put into the mouths of Indian chiefs which they could not have spoken. And Girty himself is credited with saying what, had he so said, would have been known to his hearers as being absolutely untrue; as, for instance: "He [Girty] entreated them [the chiefs] to have compassion upon his feelings; to spare him the agony of witnessing the torture of an old friend by the hands of his *adopted brothers*; and not to refuse so trifling a favor, as the life of a white man, to the earnest intercession of one who had proved, *by three years' faithful service*, that he was sincerely and zealously devoted

to the cause of the Indians." (The italicizing is mine.) To have spoken to Shawanese chiefs, asserting they were "adopted brothers," would have been absurd; and to have claimed "three years' faithful service" to the Indians, when he had been among the Mingoes only a few weeks, would, of course, have been ridiculous. It is not alone in the speeches said to have been made, that McClung (or the one he copies from) draws upon his imagination. He gravely asserts, among other fallacies, that Kenton was introduced by Girty to his own family; as if, indeed, the latter had a wife and children with him!

NOTE III.—After Kenton had a second time been sentenced to death, and had started for Upper Sandusky, where the torturing was to take place, he met Logan, the Mingo chief, who made an attempt to save him by sending messengers in advance to the place last mentioned to intercede for him; but they failed. However, Roosevelt declares to the contrary, in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 241: "He [Logan] saved Simon Kenton from torture and death, when Girty, moved by a rare spark of compassion for his former comrade, had already tried to do so and failed." "But each time [after being twice sentenced to be burned alive], he was saved at the last moment," that writer also declares, in Vol. II, p. 29: "once through a sudden spasm of mercy on the part of the renegade Girty, his old companion in arms at the time of Lord Dunmore's war, and again by the powerful intercession of the great Mingo chief, Logan." The truth is, that his second reprieve was brought about by Girty artfully persuading the chiefs to send him to Upper Sandusky to be tortured, and by the shrewdness of a white trader after his arrival there.

NOTE IV.—The account of the intercession of Girty in Kenton's behalf, as given by James Hall (*The Romance of Western History*, pp. 303, 304), is particularly erroneous: "After running the gauntlet in thirteen towns, he [Kenton] was taken to Lower Sandusky to be burned. Here resided

the miscreant [Simon] Girty, who, having just returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, was in a particularly ill humor, and hearing that there was a white prisoner in town, he rushed upon him, struck him, beat him to the ground, and was proceeding to further atrocities, when Kenton had the presence of mind to call him by name and claim his protection. They had known each other in their youth; Kenton had once saved the life of Girty; and deaf as the latter was, habitually, to every dictate of benevolence, he admitted the claim of his former acquaintance; and actuated by one of those unaccountable caprices so common among savages, interceded for him, rescued him from the stake, and took him to his house." The same author previously declares that it was "pity," instead of an "unaccountable caprice," that prompted Girty to intercede for the prisoner. Now, Girty did not reside at Lower Sandusky, nor did he ever meet Simon Kenton there. As yet, he had not been on an expedition against the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Kenton had never saved Girty's life, nor had they known each other in their youth. Besides, as will hereafter be shown, Girty was not "deaf," "habitually, to every dictate of benevolence."

CHAPTER X.

It was in the month of October, 1778, that Simon Girty parted with Kenton at Wapatomica, when the latter was started on his way to the Wyandot town of Upper Sandusky, guarded by five Shawanese—for there is no evidence that he accompanied his old time companion thither. That the ensuing months of the year were spent by Girty at the various Mingo villages in the vicinity is certain.

It has been said (and the report has a number of times been repeated by Western writers) that Girty was dispatched not long after his saving Kenton's life, as a British emissary, along with Elliott and McKee, to the homes of the "Moravian" Indians, to induce them, if possible, to join in the war against the Americans. No such journey, however, was made by them.

The fall of this year (1778), in Kentucky, was marked by some events of importance beside those already mentioned. Immediately after Kenton and his companions set off for the country north of the Ohio, upon the expedition which, as previously explained, resulted in his capture, Boonesborough was besieged by a few white men—Canadians—and a large number of Indians; but the enemy in the end were unsuccessful. In October, several men joined their labors in making improvements where Louisville now stands, laying the permanent foundation of that city. George Rogers Clark ordered Captain William Linn and the discharged troops from Kaskaskia to return to the falls of the Ohio. A station, which had been established on an island in the river, was abandoned, and a fort on the main shore, in Kentucky, commenced.

The news of the disaster to British interests in the Illinois and upon the Wabash, aroused Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, at Detroit, to the most vigorous efforts to retrieve it. It was obvious that Clark's success had panic-stricken the In-

dians, and threatened the whole British power in the Northwest. At the very time when Hamilton received the news, there was a large gathering of Indians at his post with whom he was holding negotiations. "He gave them the hatchet anew, and urged them to more general and violent assaults upon the frontier, and to hold themselves in readiness to join him in proposed movements against the Americans." He sent a menacing letter to the Council of the Delawares, upon the Muskingum, calling upon them "for the last time" to take up the hatchet, and was greatly infuriated at their firm refusal.

He immediately planned an expedition for the recovery of the Illinois, to be commanded by himself. It was composed of thirty-five regular soldiers, including officers and men; of "irregulars," forty-four rank and file; of militia, about seventy; and about sixty Indians, his force of savages being augmented on the way. The volunteers were subsequently paid for their services from the seventeenth of September, but the expedition did not leave Detroit until the seventh of October. He proposed to march first to Vincennes, in what is now the State of Indiana; thence, he intended to proceed to Kaskaskia, where Clark's force was mostly stationed. He urged Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, in command at Michilimackinac, to send him assistance. De Peyster had also received special orders from General Frederick Haldimand, commanding at Quebec, to do all in his power to aid Hamilton in his enterprise; and, on the twenty-fifth of October, he dispatched officers to arouse the Indians around Lake Michigan and assemble them at Fort St. Joseph, a stockade near a Pottawattamie village, in the vicinity of what is now South Bend, Indiana. They were to march thence and join Hamilton with all the force they could raise, or descend the Illinois, if that would be better calculated to promote the success of Hamilton's operations. These officers were told to use economy, "as the nations in general" had "many presents from his Majesty." They were to exhort the warriors to use humanity toward their prisoners, who would be

ransomed. It was thus that De Peyster early in the war showed himself a humane soldier.

Hamilton was greatly delayed by storms and bad weather, and did not reach Vincennes until the seventeenth of December. This place, as we have seen, had yielded to the Americans, and it was now held by Captain Leonard Helm, who at once capitulated. The British commander "dismissed his Indian allies to prowl upon the frontiers or return to their homes, with the purpose in the early spring of re-assembling them, with a largely increased force both from the north and the south, and then, after re-establishing the British power in Illinois, of marching to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky" and what is now West Virginia on the way, and thus completing the conquest of the American settlements in the West.

Eastward, along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and westwardly across the Ohio for a considerable distance in the Indian country, throughout the year 1778, after the flight of Girty, Elliott, and McKee to the British, there were stirring events continually transpiring. General Hand at Fort Pitt was succeeded by Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh. To that post marched the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Daniel Brodhead. Previous to this, that portion of the Thirteenth Virginia remaining at Valley Forge had been placed in marching orders for the same destination. The residue of the regiment were already in the West. The command of this body of men was given temporarily to Colonel John Gibson, the same person who wrote down from the verbal translation by Simon Girty, the famous "speech" of the Mingo, Logan. Active measures against Detroit were now concerted. A treaty with the Delaware Indians was held in September. These savages stipulated to join the troops of the general government with such a number of their best and most expert warriors as they could spare consistent with their own safety. Just below the mouth of the Beaver, upon the right bank of the Ohio, Fort McIntosh was erected. There, as early as the 8th of October, the head-quarters of the army was moved, where a large force of Continental troops and

militia, mostly from the western counties of Virginia, was assembled.* A march was made into the wilderness, and Fort Laurens erected on the west bank of the Tuscarawas river below the mouth of Sandy creek. A garrison under Colonel Gibson of one hundred and fifty men, with scant supplies, was left to guard the post, and General McIntosh returned with the residue of his army to the fort at the mouth of Beaver.†

Some time near the close of the year, Simon Girty received from Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton orders to watch the movements of the enemy near Fort Pitt. On the 6th of January, 1779, with seventeen Indians, mostly Mingoës, he proceeded from the upper Scioto on his mission. He had information of the building of Fort Laurens, and he started to reconnoiter the post to gain what news he could from the capturing of any prisoners. He would also, if possible, take some scalps, particularly Colonel Gibson's. He was, in this instance, it must be said, engaged in legitimate warfare.

But the secret of Girty's movements became known to Killbuck, a Delaware chief. The Delaware at once informed Zeisberger, and the last named wrote immediately to Colonel Gibson in Fort Laurens: "Captain John Killbuck sent messengers here [one of the Moravian missionary establishments] requesting me to inform you of the following intelligence they had to-day [January 19th] by two warriors who came to Coshocton and were going to war but were stopped [by the Delawares]: They told that thirteen days ago two companies of warriors, one of seven, the other of eighteen men (among the latter is Simon Girty), were gone to Fort Laurens in order to get Colonel Gibson's scalp. Their scheme is to deceive you by carrying deer's tails on their heads and by that means to get into the fort."‡ This carrying of deer's tails on

* It was much the largest army of white soldiers got together in the West, either by the Americans or British, during the Revolution.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 20-28.

‡ Zeisberger to Gibson, January 19, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

their heads was the token used by the friendly Delawares to find a speedy entrance to Gibson's quarters, which token the enemy had in some way found out.

The colonel does not seem to have been at all alarmed about losing his scalp. "Mr. Girty," he wrote Colonel Morgan, on the twenty-second, "has not yet made his appearance; I hope, if he does, to prevent his taking my scalp."* And thus he wrote General McIntosh at the same time: "I hope, if Mr. Girty comes to pay a visit, I shall be able to trepan him."†

Girty was, meanwhile, approaching Fort Laurens; and on arriving in its immediate vicinity he took care not to discover himself and his savages to the garrison, but lay in ambush on the road leading to Fort McIntosh, watching an opportunity to strike an effective blow. He and his dusky followers had not long to wait, for Captain John Clark, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, who had commanded an escort of provisions from Fort Pitt to Colonel Gibson, reaching the latter on the twenty-first, was seen returning with a sergeant and fourteen men. About three miles from the post, they were suddenly attacked by Girty and his Indians, suffering a loss of two killed, four wounded, and one taken prisoner. The remainder, including the captain, fought their way back into the fort. Letters written by Gibson (two of which have already been cited), containing information of importance, were captured by Girty.‡ The success of the latter in this attack was at once made known to the Fort Pitt commander, who learned through advices from the Tuscarawas who it was that commanded the savages in the ambushade.§ This be-

* Gibson to Morgan, January 22, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Gibson to McIntosh, January 22, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

‡ Copies of these letters I have before me. Compare, as to the ambushade, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 31. The bravery displayed by Clark, who was outnumbered by the enemy, shows he was on the alert.

§ "I am just informed that Capt. Clark, of the 8th Pennsylvania Regm't, who was sent to command an Escort to Fort Laurens, as he was returning with a Sergeant and 14 men, three miles this side of that fort, was attacked

coming known in the border settlements, tended to increase the terror of Girty's name. He afterward boasted greatly of this exploit of killing his own countrymen.

On the 29th of January, 1779, Clark heard the news of Hamilton's occupation of Vincennes, and the condition of his forces. He saw that he must capture the lieutenant-governor, or be taken by him; so, on the 7th of February, with a force of one hundred and seventy-six men, he started for Vincennes, and on the twenty-fifth the post was taken, and Hamilton made prisoner.

From the vicinity of Fort Laurens, Girty hastened on his way with his prisoner and captured correspondence, to Detroit, to turn them over to Captain Lernoult, then in command there—Governor Hamilton being at that time, as we have just shown, in the hands of the Americans. Girty also took with him "strings" from the Mingoes, from the Shawanese and Sandusky Wyandots, and from a few Delawares who had become allies of the British. He arrived on the 4th of February, giving the Detroit commandant full particulars, as he had learned them, of the marching of McIntosh to the Tuscarawas in the previous fall; of the building, upon that river, of Fort Laurens; and of the intentions of the American commander to move toward Detroit "the latter end of March." * That Girty gave to Lernoult the particulars of his ambuscading the soldiers at the post just mentioned may be presumed.

Heckewelder wrote to Colonel Brodhead from Coshocton that Girty had "gone to Detroit, . . . but seemed to be very low-spirited." This information the Moravian had obtained from some Indians. It would seem, therefore, that Girty's heart was not yet fully steeled against his countrymen,

by Simon Girty and a party of Mingoes, who killed two of our men, wounded four, and took one prisoner."—McIntosh to Colonel Lochry, January 29, 1779, in Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VII, p. 178.

* Colonel Mason Bolton to General Haldimand, March 24, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. This letter has been published. See Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, p. 427.

notwithstanding his boasting concerning his success at Fort Laurens. He had not yet become, as some have supposed, to all intents and purposes a white savage—

“Whose vengeance shamed the Indians’ thirst for blood;”

still, it is clear that his prestige among the Ohio Indians, was increasing.

The letters of Colonel Gibson revealed to Girty that he was particularly pointed out as one who, if captured, could expect little mercy from that officer, causing at first a feeling of despondency, which was succeeded by vindictiveness against his countrymen such as before had not possessed him. In his maraud into Kentucky along with his brother James and another white man, with a few Indians, he was acting under the advice of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, he having been persuaded, doubtless, that such expeditions were a necessity. It is evident, from what he afterward told Kenton, that what he had thus far done was under mental protest, to a certain extent. Now, however, the letters of Gibson awakened his animosity—the “rebels” were his personal enemies. It is clear his feelings were undergoing a change; soon the “tiger was unchained.” His hatred of Gibson thenceforth was intense.

CHAPTER XI.

The two warriors from Sandusky, who were stopped at Co-shocton by the Delawares, and who communicated the intelligence as to Simon Girty marching with a party of Indians to take Colonel Gibson's scalp at Fort Laurens, also gave information, which was promptly sent to the colonel, that the savages, about the 2d of March, 1779, intended, with a great number of warriors, to attack the fort; and they would get white soldiers from Detroit to aid them if possible. At this very day, declared the two warriors, they are assembling and mustering at Sandusky and Detroit, to be ready at the appointed time. This news was discouraging to Gibson, who had no doubt that an expedition was on foot by the enemy against his post; but, though short of supplies, he resolved to fight to the last. No braver man than he commanded American soldiers during the Revolution.

Upon the return of Girty to Detroit, after his success at Fort Laurens, he declared that seven or eight hundred warriors intended to attack Fort Laurens, and that when he left the Sandusky river, that number of Six Nation Indians (Mingoes), Shawanese, Wyandots, and Delawares, was assembled at Upper Sandusky. While they had little expectation of making any particular headway against the fortification itself, they would drive off and destroy the cattle; and, if any of the main army from Fort McIntosh attempted to go to the assistance of the garrison, they were resolved to attack them in the night and to distress them as much as possible.

Girty not only asked of Captain Lernoult ammunition to be given the Indians in their proposed expedition, but earnestly solicited, on behalf of the savages, that an English captain might be sent with them, "to see how they would behave."

Captain Henry Bird,* of the Eighth (or King's) regiment, and ten soldiers, all volunteers and "anxious to go," were at once dispatched to Upper Sandusky, along with Girty, to aid the undertaking; several Ottawas and Chippewas also went with them from Detroit. Captain Bird took with him a large supply of ammunition and clothing to encourage the savages, besides presents to the chief warriors.†

Upon arriving among the Wyandots, Captain Bird found them not at all anxious to march at once against the Americans; for, just then they were enjoying the immediate prospect of torturing a prisoner at the stake, to the exclusion, in their minds, of all else. "The captain," for so the story runs, "on hearing this, did all that was in his power to save the poor man, begging and praying their head men to save his life, and frequently offering four hundred dollars for him on the spot, and, indeed, was about to offer one thousand dollars, but he found it all to no purpose. He then went to the prisoner, told him he could do nothing; that if he (the captain) was in his place he would pick up a gun and defend himself as long as he could. But the prisoner seemed pretty easy, and only told the Indians that the time would come that they would pay dear for all their murders. He was then taken away and murdered at a most horrid rate."

Captain Bird "took the body [and] buried it, but they (the Wyandots) digging it out again and sticking the head upon a pole [the captain] had to bury it a second time. After all was [over] the captain went up to them (they were all assembled) and spoke to them in the following manner: 'You damned rascals, if it was in my power, as it is in the power of the Americans, not one of you should live. Nothing would please me more than to see such devils as you all are killed. You cowards, is that all you can do, to kill a poor, innocent pris-

* In many histories relating to the West, this officer's name is erroneously spelled "Byrd."

† Bolton to Haldimand, March 24, 1779, already cited. Captain Lernoult declared that he did every thing in his power to encourage the Indians, showing that Girty's solicitations were eminently successful.

oner? You dare not show your faces where an army is; but there [here] you are busy [brave?] when you have nothing to fear. Get away from me; never will I have nothing [any thing more] to do with you.' '* After this defiant and denunciatory speech, the irate but humane captain, it may be presumed, did not treat his Wyandot allies with much respect, for a time at least.

About the 22d of February, one hundred and twenty savages, mostly Wyandots and Mingoes, but all under Captain Bird (who, it seems, had conquered his disgust for the former), reached the Tuscarawas from the Sandusky and lay in ambush near Fort Laurens. Lukewarmness on part of the Wyandots toward the British operated to keep back much the larger number of warriors of that tribe living upon the Sandusky from going upon this expedition. The Mingoes (all Senecas) who marched with Bird were under the immediate lead of Girty, and were far more vindictive at this time against the Americans than were the Wyandots. Captain Bird, it should be borne in mind, was an officer in the British army, and was on the campaign as a volunteer from his regiment, the Eighth (or King's).

On the twenty-third, Colonel Gibson, in command of Fort Laurens, unwisely (for he had knowledge, as we have seen, that the enemy contemplated a movement against him) sent out a wagoner for the horses belonging to the post, to draw wood. With him went a guard of eighteen men. The party were fired upon and all killed and scalped in sight of the fort, except two, who were made prisoners. The whole besieging force then showed themselves, and Fort Laurens was com-

* Heckewelder to Colonel Brodhead, from Coshocton, June 30, 1779, in Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VII, pp. 524, 525. It has often been said, and the tradition has found its way into print (see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, p. 164), that the Wyandots did not torture their prisoners at the stake, as was frequently done by other tribes (compare, also, *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 265); but I have since seen an abundance of both published and unpublished evidence to the contrary, of the most authentic character.

pletely invested. The siege was continued until the garrison was reduced to the verge of starvation; a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat constituting a daily ration for each; but the assailants themselves, about the 20th of March, ran short of supplies, and, because of this, and treachery on part of the Wyandots, returned home.*

The siege (although a failure), considering that the fort was a regularly built fortification, planned by an engineer of the regular army of the United States, and garrisoned by regular troops, and considering, also, the persistency of the besiegers, nearly all of whom were savages, and who closely invested the post for twenty-five days, was the most notable of any in the West during the Revolution.

Soon after the return of Bird to Upper Sandusky, what he believed was a well-authenticated report reached him that a party of Delawares, stimulated by a reward of eight hundred dollars offered by the Americans for Girty's scalp, did actually go in pursuit of the renegade, expecting to find him marching homeward from the siege of Fort Laurens with his Mingoes along with that officer; but, discovering he was not in the company of the latter, went off without any hostile demonstration against the captain's command. Thereupon, Girty went with "his Senecas [Mingoes] in quest" of the Delaware warriors, but it is probable he did not find them. "Girty, I assure you, sir," says Bird, in writing to Captain Lernoult of the circumstance just narrated, "is one of the most useful, disinterested friends in his department that the government has." †

General McIntosh, in April, was relieved, at his own request, of the command of the Western Department, being succeeded by Colonel Brodhead, all thoughts of moving against the Indians upon the Sandusky, and going thence to Detroit, having been abandoned by him.

* See, as to most of these facts, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 81, 82; also, pp. 82-88 of the same work, for further particulars as to Fort Laurens and its final abandonment.

† Bird to Lernoult, —, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

After the siege of Fort Laurens, Simon Girty busied himself in the Mingo country, attentive to the behests of Captain Lernoult. On the 28th of May, Heckewelder, at Coshocton, wrote Brodhead: "Simon Girty acts wickedly, and does all he can against you."* His remorse for joining the enemies of his country was rapidly wearing off.

Colonel John Bowman, in the month last mentioned, collected a small army in Kentucky, to attack Chillicothe, the Shawanese town (before spoken of as "Old Chillicothe," in connection with the capture of Simon Kenton), about three miles north of the present Xenia, Ohio. With two hundred and sixty-two men, early in the morning of the thirtieth, he encompassed the village and set fire to it. His success was only partial, the council-house of the enemy defying the assaults of the Kentuckians. After killing several savages, and securing considerable plunder, the expedition returned with slight loss, proving by no means a failure, although not as much had been accomplished as had been expected.† A report, which, however, was erroneous, reached the ears of Bowman during the attack, that Simon Girty and a hundred Mingo were at Piqua (the Shawanese town already mentioned as on Mad river, not a great distance away), and that they had been sent for. This, it has been alleged, without any authority, caused the Americans to retreat.

After the return of Captain Bird to the Sandusky from the siege of Fort Laurens, another incursion was planned by him against the same post.‡

"After much running about," said he, in writing from Upper Sandusky, on the 9th of June, "and making some presents to chiefs, we had collected at Mingo town [on the upper waters of the Scioto] near two hundred savages, chiefly Shawanese,

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VII, p. 516.

† The Washington-Crawford Letters, p. 71, note 2. See also, for further particulars, Collins's History of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 425. Accounts of this expedition, more or less accurate, are likewise to be found in many Western histories. But the actual date of the attack on Chillicothe was first published in the Washington-Crawford Letters, just cited.

‡ McKee to Lernoult, May 26, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

when lo! a runner arrived with accounts of the Shawanese towns being attacked by a body from Kentucky." This was the expedition of Bowman. "News flew," continues Bird, "that all the towns were to be attacked; and our little body separated in an instant, past reassembling." "Girty," he adds, "is flying about."* So, as we have said, the report that Simon Girty, with a hundred Mingoes, was at Piqua when Bowman attacked Chillicothe, and had been sent for, was a false one, although the gathering of the two hundred savages by Bird at the Mingo village may have been the inspiring cause of it.

Toward the end of June, Simon Girty, with seven Mingoes, reached Coshocton, on his way to one of the settlements near Fort Pitt, where he had been advised there was a bundle of letters hid in a hollow tree, which it was important to obtain.† No sooner, however, had he got to the Delaware town than a messenger was dispatched to Colonel Brodhead by the friendly Delawares informing him of Girty's arrival, and that it was his intention, after securing the letters he was to go in search of, to make a raid into the settlements near Holiday's Cove, in what is now West Virginia. Thereupon, the American commander dispatched Captain Samuel Brady

* Bird to Lernoult—MS. letter: Haldimand Papers. This letter has recently been published (see *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II., pp. 397, 398). In it will be found a brief account brought to Bird by the Indians of Bowman's attack on Chillicothe. Roosevelt declares, without, so far as I can discover, a shadow of authority, that Bird, in gathering "two hundred Indians at the Mingo town," intended to march, not toward the Tuscarawas, but against Kentucky. He then reasons that, because, on hearing of Bowman's expedition, "the Indians dissolved in a panic," therefore, although a defeat, "the expedition was of great service to Kentucky, though the Kentuckians never knew it," as it kept Bird away.

† "I should think it a very proper thing for you to keep two Delaware men as spies at the mouth of Gajahoga [Cuyahoga] river, who might hunt there without being discovered. I further inform you that Simon Girty, with eight Mingoes, is gone to the inhabitants [American settlements eastward] to fetch a packet of letters out of a hollow tree, I understand, somewhere about Fort Pitt."—Heckewelder to Brodhead, June 29, 1779, from Coshocton.

and John Montour with a party of men from Fort Pitt to endeavor, if possible, to capture the renegade and his Mingoos; * but they were unsuccessful.

Girty reached Coshocton on his return, with one prisoner, early in July, he having also secured the letters he was so anxious to get. This was his first raid across the Ohio to the eastward—the first time he had ventured with a war-party east of the Tuscarawas river. It was this foray and the ambuscading of Captain Clark at Fort Laurens, every-where quickly heard of upon the frontiers of South-western Pennsylvania and North-western Virginia, that made his name a household word of terror thenceforth all along the border from Kittanning to Louisville. There was no longer any question in the minds of the borderers as to his actual presence, frequently, with tomahawk and scalping-knife, killing the inoffensive inhabitants regardless of age or sex. This belief was, of course, as to the frequency of Girty's visits, greatly an exaggeration of the facts; that he himself ever killed women and children as did the Indians with whom he associated on his raids and whom he frequently led, has not been positively proven, although there can, seemingly, be no doubt that such was the fact. He could not ask the savages to do what he himself would hesitate about doing. In the minds of the Indians, it would be arrant cowardice.

Accidentally, while Girty was returning to Coshocton, he and his party met David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, who was on his way from a small "Moravian" Indian village called Lichtenau to another missionary station some distance above. "Mr. Zeisberger," wrote Heckewelder to Brodhead, a few days after, from Coshocton, "who had been here to see us, and who, on his way home, met with those fel-

* "Captain Brady and John Montour, with a party of men, are gone to bring in Simon Girty and seven Mingoos, who are come toward Holliday's Cove, and an express is dispatched by the Delaware chiefs [who were then at Pittsburgh] to order the Delawares of Coochoching [Coshocton] to seize Girty and his party should he return there; and they are to be brought to me."—Brodhead to Bayard, from Pittsburgh, July 1, 1779, in Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. XII, p. 134.

lows, had certainly been killed by them if not accidentally Caleb and some more of the Delawares had met together. He [Girty] expressed himself here with great dissatisfaction concerning the disappointment, and wished us all in his power."* Now, this expression of disappointment at not being able to kill Zeisberger, and his wishing the missionaries all in his power, was, on the part of Girty, if actually indulged in, all bluster; he was the last person who would have harmed the Moravian. He knew too well what effect such a proceeding would have at Detroit. The fear and easy credulity of Heckewelder made it, however, seem certain to the latter that the renegade only needed an opportunity, and that then his threats would certainly be carried into execution.

A hostile demonstration on part of Girty and his Mingoes at their meeting, Zeisberger and "Caleb and some more of the Delawares," was only what would naturally occur at the moment of discovery and until there was a recognition as to who constituted the party. It was enough, however, to convince Heckewelder, when he learned what had taken place, that Zeisberger "had certainly been killed" but for the presence accidentally of his protectors. And the expressions and wishes of Girty made, in his mind, "assurance doubly sure," that his Moravian companion had had a very narrow escape.

Girty, it will be remembered, could neither read nor write; and he was desirous, on reaching Coshocton, on his way back from his maraud into the settlements across the Ohio, to have Alexander McCormick, who was in the Delaware village at the time of his reaching there when moving eastward, to explain the contents of the letters he had secured; but McCormick, whose head-quarters were at Upper Sandusky, had started for that place before Girty's return. There was, however, in Coshocton, besides Heckewelder, an American named Richard Connor; but, of course, he was not asked, nor was the Moravian, to read what the renegade was so anxious to

* Heckewelder to Brodhead, July 8, 1779, from Coshocton, in Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VII, pp. 541, 542.

hear. Girty "told Mr. Connor," wrote Heckewelder to Brodhead, "to tell his brethren, the Americans, that he did not desire they should show him any favor, neither (said he) would he show them any." Had it not been for Big Cat, one of the Delaware chiefs, Girty would have been detained by force in Coshocton, and sent to Fort Pitt, so Heckewelder declares.* And this is doubtless true; as the majority of the Delawares were still friendly to the Americans, and Brodhead had sent, as we have seen, some of their chiefs (who were at Fort Pitt) on purpose to have him seized should he return to Coshocton, and brought to Pittsburgh.

Colonel Brodhead was kept by Heckewelder, at this period, fully advised of Girty's movements, so far as the Moravian had any knowledge of them, either personally or by what he learned from others. Notwithstanding this fact, he wrote, many years after, as follows:

"News being brought to Goschochking [Coshocton] that the governor of Detroit [Henry Hamilton], who, a short time before, had gone with troops to Port [Post] Vincennes, and was there, together with his officers, taken prisoners by an American army under General Clarke [Colonel George Rogers Clark], and by him taken to Virginia, the peaceable Indians, and the missionaries, entertained a hope that the threats, so repeatedly circulated through the country, and attributed to this governor, would forthwith be at end. They, however, found themselves mistaken, as it now became more evident that much had been laid to the charge of this gentleman, of which he probably had no knowledge, but which had been the work of McKee, Elliott, and [Simon] Girty. These three men, whose hostility to the United States appeared to be unbounded, were continually plotting the destruction of the Christian ['Moravian'] Indians' settlements, as the only means of drawing the Delaware nation, and with these, the Christian Indians, into the war. The missionaries, in particular, were as a thorn in their eyes, being considered not only as the cause that the Delaware nation would not join in the war, but they

* Heckewelder to Brodhead, July 8, 1779, already cited.

also mistrusted them of informing the American government of the part *they* [McKee, Elliott, and Simon Girty] were acting in the Indian country.*

The expedition of Girty from the upper Scioto, to secure the letters which had been left by some unfriendly American for British perusal, was declared by Heckewelder, over forty years after, to have been for the purpose of taking "off the missionary, Zeisberger, or to bring in his scalp." This Moravian author, after the lapse of so many years, had forgotten that, no sooner had the renegade gone from Coshocton, on his way eastward, than he wrote to the Fort Pitt commandant, giving the reason for his (Girty's) going into one of the settlements near that post, leaving it to be inferred by Brodhead that what was thus mentioned was the object of the renegade coming to Coshocton, and of his going further on.†

"At the very time," says Heckewelder, in contradiction of this letter to Brodhead, "that the governor [Henry Hamilton] was a prisoner of General Clarke [Colonel George Rogers Clark], a plot was laid at Sandusky to take off the missionary, Zeisberger, or to bring in his scalp; and Simon Girty had engaged to lead the party on for the purpose. Fortunately, there lived, at the time, at Upper Sandusky, a trader, by the name of Alexander McCormick, well known to the missionaries for many years past as a friend and admirer of missions among the Indians, who, on learning the intention of this party, found means to inform the writer of this, who lived at Lichtenau, of the plot, and at which place, as it had happened, this very missionary, at the time, had come on a visit from Shonbrun, which, the spies of the hostile party discovering, they, to insure his capture, waylaid the path on which

* Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 203, 204. It was exactly what Heckewelder himself did do—inform the American government of the part "they [McKee, Elliott, and Girty] were acting in the Indian country." That this trio were "continually plotting the destruction of the Christian Indians' settlements, as the only means of drawing the Delaware nation, and with these the Christian Indians, into the war," or that they were so doing for any other purpose, is wholly untrue.

† Heckewelder to Brodhead, June 29, 1779, from Coshocton, before cited.

Zeisberger must return. Two spirited Indian brethren, of whom Isaac Glickhican was one, were selected to conduct the missionary home by way of Gnadenhutten, with directions, however, to strengthen the guard at that place, should it be thought necessary. They left Lichtenau, when, having scarcely proceeded nine miles on the journey, all of a sudden the hostile party, consisting of eight Mingoes (of the Six Nations), and Simon Girty, the person who was to point out to them the object they were come for, appeared before them on the path. At this critical moment, and while Girty was uttering to the captain of the gang the words, "This is the very man we are come for; now act agreeable to the promise you have made!" two young Delawares, on their return from a hunt, accidentally, and very fortunately, struck from out of the woods exactly on the path where these were standing, and concluding, from the words spoken by Girty, as also by the appearance of the party, that something bad was intended against the missionary, they boldly stepped forward, with their arms in readiness, to defend him, at the risk of their own lives; which, the captain observing, and justly concluding that the two other Delawares, who accompanied the missionary, would join these against them, were they to make the attempt, he, by a signal prudently given, declined laying hands on him."*

That Mr. McCormick sent Heckewelder word that some kind of a plot had been laid at Upper Sandusky to take off or kill Zeisberger, is doubtless true; but that he did not mention Girty as in any way connected with it, or as having been deputed to carry it out, is evident. In his letter to Brodhead, written at the very time that Girty first reached

* Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 204, 205. Compare, in this connection, and in nearly the same strain, Heckewelder's Indian Nations (Richel's edition), p. 279. The discrepancy between this account and that given in his letter, written over forty years before, will be noticed. It would have been, forsooth, an act of great bravery for Girty and his seven Mingoes, who had come all the way from the head of the Scioto for the express purpose of killing or capturing Zeisberger, now that the person they were looking for was before them and unarmed, to have been deterred—frightened back, as it were—by four Delawares!

Coshocton, the Moravian not only does not say a word about any plot, but, as we have seen, gives another and the real reason for his (Girty's) advent to the Delaware town. After many years, in turning the matter over in his mind, it was enough for him that Girty had met Zeisberger on his way back with his bundle of letters and one prisoner, and had made a threatening demonstration on the occasion, to connect him with the plot.

A recent Moravian writer gives some additions to Heckewelder's recollections, just related, citing "Heckewelder's M.S. Biographical Sketch:"

"Zeisberger passed much of his time [at this period] in visiting the other stations, especially at communion seasons. In the early part of July [1779], he spent such a season at Lichtenau, and was about to return to Schönbrunn, when Alexander McCormick, a trader and friend of the mission, arrived with evil tidings. McKee, Elliott, and Girty, he said, were still plotting Zeisberger's ruin; a party of Indians, led by Girty himself, was on his trail, with orders either to bring him alive to Detroit, or to shoot him down and take his scalp. It was a most timely warning, to which, however, he listened unmoved, and mounted his horse to go. . . .

"A short distance from Lichtenau, the trail forked, one branch leading to a salt-lick about two miles distant. Down the branch he turned, lost in meditation, and did not perceive his mistake until he had advanced a considerable distance. Retracing his steps, he got to the fork just as his escort came up. If he had not missed the road they would not have overtaken him, and he would have been at the mercy of his enemies. For suddenly, at the foot of a little hill, Simon Girty and his band stood before them. 'That's the man!' cried Girty to the Indian captain, pointing out Zeisberger. 'Now do what you have been told to do.' But in that instant there burst through the bushes two athletic young hunters of Goschachgünk [Coshocton]. Divining at a glance the posture of affairs, they placed themselves in front of Zeisberger, drew their tomahawks, and began deliberately to load their rifles.

As soon as the Wyandot captain saw this, and moreover recognized among Zeisberger's escort the great Glikkikan, he shook his head, motioned to his men, and disappeared with them in the forest. Girty followed him, gnashing his teeth in impotent rage."*

It is thus we find set forth, finally, Heckewelder's relation of the meeting of Simon Girty and Zeisberger. Now, McCormick goes himself to Lichtenau. Now, Girty is "ordered to bring him [Zeisberger] alive to Detroit, or to shoot him down and take his scalp." Now, it is a Wyandot (not a Mingo) captain that Girty addresses. Now, instead of saying to him, "act agreeable to the promise you have made," Girty orders him to do what he had "been told to do." Then the "two athletic young hunters" begin "deliberately to load their rifles." This and the "great Glikkikan" were too much for the "Wyandot captain!" He disappears "in the forest," followed by Girty, "gnashing his teeth in impotent rage!"†

It is not known what became of the prisoner captured by Girty, but it is probable that he was tortured at the stake by the Mingoes, after the return of the renegade and his warriors to the Mingo villages.‡ The letters which Girty had secured were taken by him to Detroit and delivered to Captain Lernoult.

NOTE.—Heckewelder's letters to Brodhead, mentioning the name of Girty frequently, led to the conclusion that he was already a leading spirit in the Ohio wilderness for evil toward the Americans, and of course he was in the border settlements every-where denounced. Girty heard of this general denunciation. "They can do their best against me and I will against them," were his words, in effect.

* Schweinitz' *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 473-475.

† Relying upon what Schweinitz says in his work just cited as to Girty's meeting Zeisberger, I have, in a previous account of the renegade, given credence to Heckewelder's fiction as related above (see pp. 189, 190, c. c. c. *Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, etc.)

‡ "Simon Girty is for the Mingo country as soon as he returns [from his search, not after Zeisberger, but after the 'packet of letters']"—Heckewelder to Brodhead, June 30, 1779, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, Vol. VII., p. 524.

CHAPTER XII.

That George Girty was not in the wilderness beyond the Ohio at the beginning of 1778, has previously been explained, so, also, his having been, on the 12th of February, of that year, commissioned a second lieutenant in Captain James Willing's company of marines, in the Continental army. He remained with his company until the 4th day of May, 1779, when he deserted his colors,* making his way subsequently to Detroit. His arrival was noted by some one who wrote out a statement of his experiences after leaving Fort Pitt in the early part of the previous year, doubtless for the Detroit commandant's perusal. But the account erroneously explains (as might be expected) how he became a member of Willing's company, and why he accepted a commission from that officer:

"August 8th [1779].—Arrived [at Detroit] George Girty, a person whom a Mr. McKee had employed at the commencement of the present war and sent with a gentleman in the king's service going down the Mississippi, to prevent his entering into the service of the Americans—they having made frequent application to him, being an active woodsman and well acquainted with several of the Indian languages.

"He was taken and robbed on the Mississippi by a James Willing, captain of a boat sent down the Ohio by Congress to plunder the merchants and inhabitants of that country, which he did, without distinction. And as Girty was carried to Orleans a prisoner by him, and threatened with being sent to the mines, he acquiesced to a proposal of the said Willing to appoint him an ensign [second lieutenant] in the American service, in hopes of getting up to the Illinois, whence he could make his escape to Detroit, where, he had been informed, he

* Potter's American Monthly, Vol. VII., p. 388.

would find Mr. McKee and his [Girty's] brothers. He had neither taken the oaths nor acted in an official capacity, when a party of British soldiers were brought prisoners to the Illinois (soon after his arrival there), to some of whom he made known his intentions, and offered to conduct them safely to Detroit, which sixteen of them agreed to; but one entering an information and making oath against him, he was seized, put into irons, and closely confined; but soon after found means to effect his escape to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, and there collected five soldiers of the King's (or 8th) regiment, three deserters from the Americans, and one man of Governor Hamilton's volunteer company, all of whom he has brought to this place [Detroit], having set out the 19th of June last from the Illinois.

"He says that, upon his arrival at the Spanish garrison [in St. Louis], the commandant ordered him into confinement, but next morning, after some inquiry, released him, informing him that it was not his intention to interfere with or molest any person from either side, unless for murder or some capital offense against civil society, and that it was his desire to remain in tranquillity and treat all well who behave as becometh them.

"The rebels, he says, were preparing to carry on an expedition against Detroit, but that their credit was hurt by their bills being returned protested from New Orleans, and the only recourse left them was to purchase provisions and pack-horses with the merchandise taken from Governor Hamilton, as the Canadians were concealing their property, rather than dispose of it for Continental currency; and that the number of Virginians that could be raised to come this way [towards Detroit] from that quarter would not exceed two hundred, and perhaps two hundred and fifty or three hundred Canadians, the whole to make five hundred men, destitute of almost every necessary requisite for such an undertaking; the field-piece taken at Vincennes being the only one fit for such a service in their possession.

"As they fell upon the Wabash near the Vermillion town, they were informed by the Indians of that village that a

Colonel Clark, the rebel commandant at the Illinois, was on his way against Detroit, but that, notwithstanding, the Indians treated him [Girty] kindly, and furnished him and his companions with provisions to carry them on their journey. They pushed up the Wabash, and met on their way seven Frenchmen, driving fifteen or twenty empty pack-horses towards the enemy, which appeared designed for their [the enemy's] use, and induced Girty to seize a Frenchman, whom he looked upon to be the principal person of their party, in order to bring him to Detroit, to account to the commanding officer for his conduct; but they were overtaken at a Miamis village upon Eel river by a party of Weatanon Indians, under the influence of one Gamblier, a French trader, who, with the assistance of some other Frenchman, robbed them of their arms, released their prisoner, and endeavored to persuade the Indians to take them back and deliver them into the hands of the enemy.

“The chiefs of the village, being made acquainted with the design, assembled and made a speech to the following effect: ‘That the road leading to Detroit had been opened and made clear by the mutual consent of their father, who sat at that place, and his children, the chiefs and wise men of all nations. That it behooved them to keep it so, for, by it, all their wants were supplied, and they would not allow foolish young men, instigated by ill-disposed Frenchmen, to disturb it. Therefore, the subjects of their father, the king of Great Britain, must travel it in peace; and they recommended it to them to keep the straight road forward, as it never yet was sprinkled with blood. No nation would be so hardy as to molest them; and as to the Virginians, they had nothing to expect from them; they were unable to supply their own wants; therefore, they had nothing to spare to Indians.’”*

“George Girty,” wrote Mason Bolton to General Haldimand, from Niagara, on the twenty seventh of August, “arrived at Detroit on the ninth [eighth] instant, with four soldiers of the king’s regiment who were taken with Gov-

* MS. account, Haldimand Papers.

ernor Hamilton), three Virginia deserters and Captain La Mothe's fifer.* George was at once engaged by Captain Lernout, in the Indian Department as interpreter (also to go to war when necessary), and sent to the Shawanese, with head-quarters at Wapatomica, at the same wages paid his two brothers, namely: sixteen shillings, York currency, a day.† It was also the same pay as was then received by Matthew Elliott, Pierre Drouillard, William Tucker, Robert Surphlit (McKee's cousin), and Fontenoy Dequindre—all engaged in the Indian Department. He (George) began his inglorious career against his country as well equipped as his brothers Simon and James; for he was not only allowed one and one-half rations a day, but was furnished with a gun, three horses, and a saddle and bridle.

George acted also as disbursing agent at the Shawanese towns, dealing out supplies to the Shawanese. A contemporaneous statement, as to himself and others, of goods thus furnished the Indians, is extant:

	£.	s.	d.
" Charles Beaubien furnished goods to Indians at Miami Town.....	1603	8	0
Matthew Elliott, in Indian country.....	47	6	9
Captain McKee, " "	835	5	6
George Girty, " "	75	17	0"

A charge "to George Girty" at this period is also in existence:

	Bucks.
"To salt at Shawanese towns.....	4
To 116 pounds flour....	14
To 1 bag with do	2
To tobacco.....	3
	28"

* MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† "I wish your excellency could allow Mr. [Duperron] Baby, the now Acting Indian Commissary, something more than the common and low-lived interpreters—who all have, like he, two dollars per day."—Brehm to Gen-

Deer skins then were worth about a dollar each. These skins all through the Indian country, previous to and during the Revolution, passed as money (under the names of "bucks" and "does") instead of sterling and York currency.*

After delivering to Captain Lernoult, at Detroit, the "packet of letters" he had secured in one of the border settlements to the eastward, Simon Girty returned to the Ohio wilderness. A plan had been laid by the Detroit commander for him again to march to the Tuscarawas to learn the true state of affairs at Fort Laurens. At Sandusky, Girty wrote Lernoult that there were "no certain accounts of the rebels leaving Tuscarawas [Fort Laurens]." "I intend," he adds, "to go there directly, and shall send you the token you gave me at Detroit, if they are not there. If the Delawares are in possession of fort, I intend to turn them out and burn it (if my party is able), as you gave me the liberty to act as I thought best; and they and I are not on the best of terms."† But the post had then been abandoned by the Americans for about a month; and, as the fortification was not afterward burned, it would seem that Girty did not march thither as he had contemplated. Indeed, he soon went in quite another direction, as will presently be seen.

In September, James Girty, who had spent a large portion of the previous twelve months with the Shawanese, was at Detroit, where Captain Lernoult needed his services; as that officer was just then greatly excited over the prospective visit from the Americans led by George Rogers Clark. "As I can not," wrote the Captain, "spare a soldier now (our numbers are reduced), I intend to send one James Girty to the Shawanese towns to endeavor to raise a party to reconnoitre toward the Weas, and to communicate this news [the visit of Clark] to all the Indians in our interest to harass the enemy should

eral Haldimand, from Detroit, July 5, 1779, in Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, p. 418.

* Address of Charles I. Walker before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, January 31, 1871, pp. 28, 30, 41.

† Girty to Lernoult, September 6, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

they advance further."* But Clark's endeavors proved abortive and James Girty's efforts were for naught. The latter remained at Wapatomica.

In June, 1778, David Rogers, who, on the 14th of January preceding, had been selected by Virginia to proceed to New Orleans to purchase supplies for the use of the troops of that state, raised a party of about thirty men in the region of what is now Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and, in keel-boats, floated down the Ohio and Mississippi. He did not reach New Orleans until after considerable trouble and delay. When he arrived, he found he would have to return to St. Louis, to obtain the goods, for which he was given an order. From the latter place, in the autumn of 1779, he made his way up the Ohio to the Falls, where he was reinforced. On the 27th of September, with about seventy men, he continued up the river to a point above the mouth of the Licking, but about three miles below that of the Little Miami, when, on the 4th of October, he discovered Indians. Rogers made a disposition of his men upon the Kentucky side of the Ohio to surprise the enemy, consisting of Senecas (Mingoes), Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese, under the general direction of Simon Girty, his brother George, and Matthew Elliott, who had reached the Ohio river the evening before. Their force was nearly a hundred strong, but over half were out hunting. However, they had discovered Rogers, and they acted quickly, with the result of killing not less than forty-two of his party (Rogers among the number, shot by Simon Girty probably) and making five of his men prisoners.† The loss of the Indians was two killed and three slightly wounded. Forty bales of dry goods, a quantity of rum and fusees, together with a "chest of hard specie," fell into the hands of the victors.†

"I . . . have the pleasure," wrote DePeyster to Hal-

* Lernout to Bolton, September 25, 1779.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 44, 45, and the authorities there cited. Elliott to Captain Lernout (Official Report), from the Shawanese towns, October 11, 1779—MS. letter; also, John Campbell to same, October 28, 1779—MS. letter; both from the Haldimand Papers.

Joseph Trammell
Lernout was
one of them. See
his life by him
-self-1832-

dimand, "to acquaint you that . . . Simon Girty, his brother [George], and Matthew Elliott, have defeated a Colonel Rogers on the Ohio, a stroke which must greatly disconcert the rebels at Pittsburgh." * This success increased the prestige of the three white leaders in a marked degree throughout the Indian country and at Detroit.

After their successful attack on Rogers and his party, both the Girtys and Elliott—"myself and the two Girtys," as the last named wrote to Lernoult—proceeded to Detroit. Simon subsequently returned to the Mingoes, George to the Shawanese.

Although Simon and James Girty had been outlawed and were traitors, and George was a deserter, they were looked upon by the British in quite a different light. To the latter they were only escaped borderers, who were anxious to make their peace with "his majesty;" and it was now sufficiently evident to the Detroit commandant that all three could be relied upon under any circumstances as faithful adherents to the crown.

If we turn our eyes to the upper lakes during the summer of 1779, we shall still see Major DePeyster in command at Michilimackinac, who had, for a considerable time sought from General Frederick Haldimand, at Quebec, to be transferred to some other post. The general finally ordered him to the command of Fort Lernoult, as the new fortification erected at Detroit was called, where he arrived in October.

The taking of the Illinois by George Rogers Clark, and the utter defeat of all of Hamilton's plans of conquest and his capture by the Americans, by this time had lessened the estimation of the Indians in the West for the British, and DePeyster felt the necessity of striking an effective blow to recover whatever of prestige had been lost by the failure of the lieutenant-governor; for the confidence of the confederated nations in league with the English must be retained, let the cost be ever so great. Disaffection, also, was rapidly spreading among the French at Detroit; they now had less liking

* MS. letter, November 1, 1779, Haldimand Papers.

for the British cause ; and, since the treaty between France and the United States, they began to express, in various ways, their sympathy with the Americans. Evidently DePeyster must do something, and that quickly.

NOTE I.—“[Simon] Girty won the widest fame on the border by his cunning and cruelty ; but he was really a less able foe than the two others [McKee and Elliott],” says Roosevelt. That he was not as able a foe, during the Revolution, as these two men, particularly McKee, is true ; but it was not because of a lack of bravery, but of military position. In hand-to-hand encounters, he was as courageous as they. As to his cunning, there is no evidence extant that he was particularly gifted in that way.

NOTE II.—“The frontiersmen hated [Simon] Girty as they did no other man, and he was credited with numerous actions done by other white leaders of the Indians.”—Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 9, note.) This is strictly true ; and the sentence following, by that author, can not be questioned : “The British accounts say comparatively little about him.” But the next assertion, by the same writer, is open to criticism : “He seems to have often fought with the Indians as one of their own number, while his associates led organized bands of rangers.” The question here to be answered is, who were his “associates” in the Ohio wilderness during the Revolution ? No persons, surely, were more intimate with him than his two brothers, and they did not lead “organized bands of rangers,” nor did Captain McKee or Elliott, during that war. There were no rangers at Detroit during the Revolution but “Butler’s,” and these were always led by their own officers, none of whom were Girty’s “associates”—none “Indian officers” or others, of the British Indian Department in the West.

NOTE III.—In “An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782”

(p. 189), the inference is that DePeyster, early in 1779, found Girty ready for any undertaking, either against the Americans, or the [Moravian] missionaries and their converts upon the Muskingum, as his hostility to the latter seemed as unbounded as to the former." This needs correcting in two particulars. DePeyster was not then in command at Detroit to give him orders "for any undertaking," nor was he (Girty) hostile to the "Moravian" Indians at that date, or subsequently. He had, however, no good feeling toward the missionaries.

NOTE IV.—The letter of Simon Girty to Captain Lernoult, wherein he states his determination to march to Fort Laurens and turn out any Delawares found there, "if my party is able," is as follows:

"SANDUSKY, *Sept. 6, 1779.*

"SIR:—I take the liberty to acquaint you that I intend leaving this place to-morrow. There is a party of twenty-five Wyandots that have been turned to go as volunteers with me the road I proposed when I left Detroit; likewise a party of ten Mingoos, which party Sandithtas commands. The Wyandots are commanded by Seyatamah.

"Sir, I refer you to Captain McKee for the knowledge of the above-mentioned chiefs, if you are not already acquainted with their names. To-morrow, my friend, Nouthsaka, sets off with ten warriors to the falls of the Ohio. Our great friend, Captain Pipe, is gone to Fort Pitt to a council; likewise Maulmatas and Duentate. Six days ago, a party of Wyandots brought here three prisoners from Kentucky. They say there are three hundred men under pay in those parts. They also say there are nine forts in and about Kentucky.

"There are no certain accounts of the rebels leaving Tuscarawas [Fort Laurens]. I intend to go there directly, and shall send you the token you gave me at Detroit if they are not there. If the Delawares are in possession of the fort, I intend to turn them out and burn the fort (if my party are able), as you gave me the liberty to act as I thought best, and they and I are not on the best of terms.

"Yesterday, Sandithas arrived here, with the account of ten parties of Shawanese that are gone to war. This is all I have to acquaint you with at present.

"I am, etc.,

"SIMON GIRTY.

"TO CAPTAIN LERNOULT, *Commander at Detroit.*"

NOTE V.—"They [Simon, James, and George Girty] were for a time apparently weaned away from their adopted brethren, but they never even then fought against them, were always at ease in their company, and . . . ultimately took up the savage life again."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 259. But, as we have already shown, Simon Girty fought, not only against the Shawanese, but against his "adopted brethren," the Senecas (Mingoes), in Lord Dunmore's War. He took part, also, it will be remembered, in the "Squaw Campaign" against the Indians. Neither Simon nor James, strictly speaking, took up the savage life again: dressing as the Indians dressed; hunting with the Indians; conforming to their habits, manners, and customs in all things. But of this hereafter.

NOTE VI.—The site of Fort Laurens was about ten miles due north from the present New Philadelphia, Ohio. Close by, in 1764, Col. Bouquet erected a small stockaded fort (see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year MDCCLXIV*, under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., Colonel, etc., pp. 51, 52). Fort Laurens covered about half an acre of ground, and the parapet walls were crowned with pickets made of the split halves of the largest trunks of trees. It was one mile south of what is now Bolivar, Tuscarawas county, Ohio. A plan of the fort was made in January, 1850,—what then existed of the fortification being taken as a basis for the drawing (see *Mitchener's Historic Events, in the Tuscarawas and Muskingum Valleys*, etc., pp. 128, 129). The fort remained entire as late as 1782.

CHAPTER XIII.

The spring of 1780 opened gloomily upon the western frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As early as the middle of March, the Indians began their depredations. At a sugar camp on Raccoon creek, a stream flowing into the Ohio, on the left, thirty-three miles by the course of the river below Pittsburgh, five men were killed and three girls and three boys taken prisoners. On the thirtieth, Heckewelder, at Coshocton, wrote Brodhead: "We have heard nothing at all this whole winter what the enemy [British and their Indian allies west] are about; the snow being so deep and the weather so continually cold has, I suppose, prevented this; but this day I am informed that three young fellows, two Delawares and one Wyandot, have turned back from a body of warriors consisting of twenty-six men. They inform that five or six companies of warriors have gone out; two parties of Wyandots toward Beaver creek and the others down this river [Muskingum]."*

On the 2d of April, Brodhead was written to by David Zeisberger from the Tuscarawas: "I have not heard of any hostile thoughts among the Cooshocking [Coshocton] Indians [Delawares] yet, and if I should perceive any thing of that kind I would give you intelligence by an express. But yesterday we heard that a party of warriors, among which was the well-known Monsey, Washnash, has attacked a boat in the river [Ohio], killed three men, and has taken twenty-one men, women, and children prisoners, and likewise the whole boat. No doubt this action will encourage them to do more mischief."† There were three boats in all. They were attacked a few miles below Captina creek, which empties into the Ohio on the right, twenty-one miles below Wheeling, and one of

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. VIII, p. 152.

† Id., p. 159.

them captured, as mentioned by Zeisberger; the others reached Kentucky without further molestation. The boat which fell into the hands of the savages belonged to a man by the name of Reynolds, who was either killed at the time or was soon after tortured to death in the wilderness; a small child, his daughter, was shot in the boat, probably by accident. The others of his family were captured.

In one of the boats which escaped was Peter Malott, from Maryland; but his wife Sarah and several children, being in the boat which was taken, were made prisoners. The oldest of the children was a daughter, Catharine, a girl in her teens.* Simon Girty, who, it may be premised, afterward married her, has generally been spoken of as having been present at the time of her being made a prisoner; but such was not the case. There are accounts extant, not only of his having taken a prominent part, in the capture of Reynolds's boat, but detailing the conversation which then took place; these, however, are fictitious. The Indians who did the mischief were Munceys, a Delaware clan living to the westward. With these Girty had not the particular fellowship that he had with the Mingoes and Wyandots. The savages, with their plunder and prisoners, immediately made their way to the Muskingum, where they halted for rest.† It was either from "Moravian" Delawares who then saw them, or from some of the Coshocton Delawares (the latter had not yet taken up the hatchet against the Americans), that Zeisberger learned the particulars which, on the 2d of April, he transmitted to Brodhead at Fort Pitt, as before mentioned.

There were, at this time, straggling villages of Delawares, from Coshocton westward, up the Walhonding, across to the Scioto, thence to the Mad river; and, in general, the further

* Compare, in this connection, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 47, which gives a correct account of the affair, so far as it goes, except as to the number of boats.

† See, as to the capture of the Malotts, McKnight's *Our Western Border*, pp. 422, 423. But the account there given is erroneous in some of its particulars.

removed from the Muskingum, the more hostile to the Americans were the occupants of these towns; but the loyalty of Zeisberger and Heckewelder could then be counted on, under all circumstances: the former being somewhat cautious and circumspect; the latter, fearless and outspoken, though taking pains that his zeal and aid should not be discovered to the enemy.

Before entering upon an inquiry as to the part taken by the Girtys in the stirring events of 1780 in the West, it is proper to state that the winter following the victory obtained near the mouth of the Little Miami over the force under Rogers, was spent by them in the Ohio wilderness among the Mingoes and Shawanese. Early in March, the three brothers—Simon, James, and George—arrived together at Detroit,* called thither, it is presumed, by DePeyster to get from them whatever information they might have obtained during the preceding three or four months concerning the movements of the “rebels” upon the border.

In the spring of that year, emigration began early; not less than three hundred large family boats filled with emigrants arrived at the Falls, where the town of Louisville was established by an act of the Virginia legislature. Colonel Clark, by direction of Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, erected a fort on the east side of the Mississippi river, five miles below the mouth of the Ohio, upon the lands of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, calling it Fort Jefferson.

To keep up the spirits of the Indians, and in hopes of destroying “the rebels” in Kentucky, on the Wabash, and at the Illinois, Lieutenant-Governor Patrick Sinclair, in command at Michilimackinac, and Major DePeyster, at Detroit, sent some white soldiers and a large number of Indians against those countries nearly simultaneously. The field of operations of Sinclair was not only to include the Illinois villages, but the Spanish settlement of St. Louis as well; for Spain

* DePeyster to Haldimand, March 8, 1780.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. As the “three Girtys” remained in Detroit until the 12th of April, it is certain that Simon was not present at the capture of the Malotts.

was now at war also with Britain. The result of the expedition fitted out by him was a few persons killed and a small number of prisoners taken, in the vicinity of St. Louis; while Cahokia, one of the Illinois villages (thanks to the activity of the inhabitants and George Rogers Clark, who hastened thither from Fort Jefferson), met with a loss still smaller.*

But, as we shall now see, the operations started by DePeyster proved much more serious. He assembled at Detroit a force of about one hundred and fifty whites and one hundred lake Indians, provided with two small cannon, to assail the fort at the Falls of the Ohio, when, if successful, they would attack other forts in Kentucky.† He sent in advance some Indians by way of the Wabash to re-capture Vincennes and to amuse Clark, who was supposed to be at the Rapids (Louisville)—the main force to move up the Maumee and down the Great Miami and the Ohio. The expedition was under the command of Captain Bird. With him went “the three Girtys.” Proceeding to the Miami, he was joined by Captain McKee (then Deputy Indian Agent in place of Jehu Hay, who was captured with Hamilton) and a large Indian force. The whole moved to the Ohio, when Bird, at the instigation of the Indian chiefs, was compelled to change his plans. He must attack, first, some of the interior stations—“the forts on Licking creek” being most accessible; afterward, he would drop down to the falls of the Ohio (Louisville). So he urged his pirogues up the Ohio, from the mouth of the Great Miami, his Indians then numbering over seven hundred.

* Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. IX, *passim*. Consult, also, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, and Scharff's History of St. Louis, Vol. I. Some additional particulars may be gleaned from Billon's Annals of St. Louis. See, too, Wisconsin State Historical Society's Collections, Vol. XI.

† “Soon after the rush of spring immigration was at its height [in 1780, in Kentucky] the old settlers and the new-comers alike were thrown into the utmost alarm by a formidable inroad of Indians, accompanied by French partisans, and led by a British officer. DePeyster, a New York tory of old Knickerbocker family, had taken command at Detroit.”—Roosevelt. That he came there from Michilimackinac, or, indeed, that there was any such British post (which was, throughout the Revolution, second only to Detroit, in the West), that writer does not inform his readers.

Captain Bird, after reaching the mouth of the Licking river, proceeded up that stream. And here, we may say, that Simon Girty had no command in the expedition; he simply acted as interpreter; so, too, his brothers, as their services were required. The enemy reached Ruddle's Station (or "Fort Liberty," as it was sometimes called) without accident, when McKee, taking two hundred Indians, surrounded the stockade in the night. Firing commenced at daylight. Captain Bird arrived at noon with the rest of the force and the smaller of the two field-pieces. After two discharges of this gun, the captain sent Simon Girty with a flag of truce demanding the surrender of the fort. According to Girty's story, many rifles were pointed at him as he entered the stockade. He declares he kept cool, and informed those inside the pickets that, unless they surrendered, they would all be killed; a determination they clearly saw would be carried out in the event of longer resistance, as the other field-piece was now brought up. The two would soon, of course, batter down the frail stockade.

But Isaac Ruddle, the commander of the garrison, determined not to surrender without making an effort, at least, for terms. He told Girty he could not consent to open the gates but on certain conditions, one of which was that the prisoners should be under the protection of the British and not suffered to be held by the Indians. To these conditions Bird consented, he and Captain McKee going into the fort to settle the terms of capitulation with Captain Ruddle. So the station was surrendered, but the savages were uncontrollable; "they rushed in, tore the poor children from their mothers' breasts, killed and wounded many," says Bird,—each Indian, afterward, securing, if in his power, a prisoner; however, all except the Lake Indians returned theirs to the Captain the next morning. Near three hundred were taken. The cattle at the post were all shot down by the savages; this, in the end, as we shall see, proved a serious affair.

Martin's Station was next assailed with a similar result. Bird would then have been happy could he have moved down

the Licking and Ohio, to attack the fort at Louisville; but this, now, was out of the question. He was nearly out of provisions, and there was danger of his prisoners starving—all because of the wanton destruction of the cattle at the first fort by the savages. There was no other alternative but to return, as quickly as possible, to Detroit. He made rapid marches to his boats (where most of his Indians left him), and was soon upon the Ohio again. After ascending the Great Miami, he was forced to leave his two cannon at Lorimer's.* George Girty, who had remained with him to this point, now returned to the Shawanese; but Simon and James had previously gone back—the former to the homes of the Mingoes, the latter to the Shawanese. George was of much service in getting the prisoners along, who numbered in all about three hundred and fifty. Bird reached Detroit on the 4th of August.† His expedition was the most successful against Kentucky of any during the war; and but for the intractability of his Indian allies, that whole region would have been depopulated.‡

We have already seen that the appearance of the savages upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia in the spring of 1780 was as early as the middle of March. These marauds

* Bird to DePeyster, July 24, and Bombardier William Homan to Bird, August 18, 1780.—MS. letters, Haldimand Papers.

† Besides the various published accounts of the expedition, I have consulted the following MS. letters of 1780 from the Haldimand Papers, in addition to the two already cited: McKee to Bird, May 3d; DePeyster to Haldimand, May 17th; same to Sinclair, May 18th; Bird to DePeyster, May 21st; same to DePeyster, June 3d; McKee to same, June 4th; Bird to same, June 11th; same to same, July 1st; McKee to same, July 8th; and DePeyster to Haldimand, August 18th.

‡ Roosevelt declares that "Bird was not one of the few men fitted to command such a force as that which followed him; and contenting himself with the slight success he had won, he rapidly retreated to Detroit, over the same path by which he had advanced." But that author wrote, of course, without knowledge of Bird's or McKee's Official Report, or he would not speak of the commanding officer, "contenting himself with the slight success he had won." Both Bird and McKee were well "fitted to command such a force"—no two in the West were better; but the nature of Indians is not to brook control in war for any length of time.

continued with frequency throughout the summer and until the coming in of winter. However, on at least one occasion, the Indians were severely punished for their audacity.*

To prevent, if possible, another visitation of the savages in force into the Kentucky settlements, as had been the case in Bird's expedition, which resulted in the taking of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, and as a retaliatory measure for the success of the enemy in that undertaking, General George Rogers Clark, making all haste "with what men he could well spare,† started from Fort Jefferson for Louisville, resolved to lead an expedition against the Shawanese towns on the waters of the Little Miami and Mad river, in what are now Greene and Clark counties, Ohio. With a strong force and one field-piece he reached Chillicothe on the 6th of August only to find it burning and the savages gone. On the seventh, having destroyed all the corn in the vicinity, the march was renewed for Piqua upon the Mad river. This was reached on the eighth and the village at once attacked. James and George Girty were there and took part in the defense. All but about seventy, if McKee is to be believed, of the Indians immediately fled; the residue with the two Girtys stood their ground manfully, but were finally compelled to leave the village to the enemy.‡ After destroying all the corn, Clark, on the tenth, began his return march. Not less than six of the Indians were killed, but the whites lost seventeen. A number of Clark's men were wounded, but only three of the savages. The destruction of the corn proved a very serious blow to the Indians, and gave ease to Kentucky for a number of months following.

In nearly all the printed statements heretofore given to the public, not only is Simon Girty represented as being

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 47-50.

† Roosevelt gives credit to the oft-published fiction of Clark having with him but two men. He had, in all probability, two hundred. That writer also reprints the silly tale about Clark dressing himself as an Indian, "so as to deceive the lurking bands of savages" while on the journey.

‡ Captain McKee to DePeyster, from the Upper Shawanese Village (Wapatomica), August 27, 1780.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

present at the battle, but as having command of a large force of Mingoes, who ingloriously fled the town. The usual account is to the effect that "the action was so severe a short time before the close, that Girty . . . drew off three hundred of his men [Mingoes], declaring to them it was folly in the extreme to continue the action against men who acted so much like madmen as General Clark's, for they rushed in the extreme of danger, with a seeming disregard of consequences. This opinion of Girty, and the withdrawal of the three hundred Mingoes, so disconcerted the rest, that the whole body soon dispersed."

But there were no Mingoes in Piqua when the town was attacked by Clark, neither was Simon Girty there.*

The conduct of James and George—his brothers—was highly commended by the savages in their accounts subsequently given of the battle.

Notwithstanding the destruction of the Indian towns by Clark, the Shawanese did not forsake their country. With them remained James and George Girty; while Simon, who, since Bird's campaign into Kentucky, had been inactive, continued with the Mingoes. The three occupied themselves in the Ohio wilderness throughout the following winter, attending to the behests of DePeyster and looking after the interests of the tribes with whom they were particularly associated.

NOTE.—In a foot-note by Lyman C. Draper, added to Charles I. Walker's Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, January 31, 1871, on "The North-west During the Revolution," is the following with regard to Bird's expedition (the italicizing is by the writer of this narrative):

"This memorable expedition was originally designed to strike at Col. Clark and his garrison at Louisville; but the streams were unusually full that season, *which circumstance*

* Roosevelt says, that "both Simon Girty and his brother were in the town." He reaches this conclusion, evidently, from the circumstance that McKee speaks of "the two Girtys." He did not know, as before intimated, that there were three Girtys (brothers) in the Ohio wilderness.

induced Bird to change his original purpose of attacking Louisville first; and therefore, decided to ascend Licking river, into the heart of the Kentucky settlements, conveying his artillery by water to Ruddell's and Martin's Stations, and thence by land to Bryan's Station and Lexington."

But the Official Report of the commander of the expedition clearly shows that it was the determination of the Indian chiefs, not high water, that "induced Bird to change his original purpose."

▼

CHAPTER XIV.

The beginning of 1781 found Thomas Girty still a resident of Pittsburgh. It is a matter of record that one Myndert Fisher, a soldier, forged his name to a letter directed to a loyalist, then in the Indian country. Fisher, for some cause, had become disaffected, and had opened a correspondence with the enemy. Being detected, he confessed that he had made use of Girty's name. He was tried by court-martial at Fort Pitt, on the 7th of January, and sentenced to death, but was subsequently pardoned.*

From the time that Brodhead had taken command at Fort Pitt, he had made the most strenuous endeavors to preserve friendly relations with the Delawares, who, ever since the war began, had been objects of suspicion to the borderers. It was not known, of course, at what moment they might take up the hatchet, in which event their proximity to the settlements would give them great advantages for mischief. Besides, it was well understood that some of them were actually hostile while the nation at large was, professedly, the ally of the United States. The inability of the government to carry out treaty stipulations, and the influences and threats of the British and their Indian allies, induced them finally, though unwillingly, to rise against the border, only a small band remaining in the interest of the United States. Thus the Indian war, early in 1781, became general—not a single tribe in the Ohio country continuing friendly.

The commander of the Western Department was early informed of the defection of the Delawares. "The people at Coshocton," wrote Heckewelder, from one of the Moravian villages upon the Tuscarawas, to Brodhead, on the 26th of

* As to the trial, sentence, and subsequent pardon of Fisher, see Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 72, 82.

February, "have been very busy in trying to deceive you this long time." "I indeed believe," he continued, "that the greater part of them will be upon you in a few days." "They have arranged themselves in three parties," he added, "and, if I am right, one party is gone already; but I hope they will receive what they deserve." And thus wrote, also, a friendly Delaware Indian from the Moravian towns: "Every body here knows that the Coshocton men are getting ready to go and fight you." Now, the leader of these hostile Delawares was the war-chief Wingenund. Brodhead, acting upon the suggestion of the patriotic missionary, determined, thereupon, to carry the war to the homes of the Coshocton Indians.

It was well that Brodhead made this resolve; for the Delawares were now determined on war, and were earnestly soliciting the British commandant at Detroit to send traders among them, declaring that they would no longer listen to "the Virginians," who, they said, had deceived them.* The artful DePeyster encouraged them, sending them, on the 12th of April, a speech by Simon Girty, who had been called, previously, to Detroit from the Mingo country, by the commandant:

"Indians of Coshocton! I have received your speech sent me by the Half King of Sandusky. It contains three strings, one of them white, and the other two checkered. You say that you want traders to be sent to your village and that you are resolved no more to listen to the Virginians, who have deceived you. It would give me pleasure to receive you again as brothers, both for your own good and for the friendship I bear to the Indians in general."†

Simon Girty, early in 1781, at the express direction of DePeyster, took up his residence at Upper Sandusky, among the Wyandots, sent thither from the Mingoes because his services would be greatly enhanced by the change. It was the beginning of a long intimacy with those Indians, but he was never able to speak their language with as much fluency as he did that of the Senecas (Mingoes). His official duties

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 50, 51.

† DePeyster's Miscellanies, p. 253.

with the tribe were the same as with the last-named Indians; that is, he was to interpret for them, and go to war with them, when occasions offered. He was at all times to do the bidding of the Detroit commandant—"attending," as he well expressed it, "to the king's business"—and his pay was the same as formerly. He was not adopted by the Sandusky Wyandots as one of their people, as generally supposed, although highly respected by them;* while with the Detroit Wyandots, he had no more affiliation than with other Indians who were under the immediate direction of DePeyster.

From Wapatomica, early in March, McKee wrote DePeyster that Simon Girty, with a party of Wyandots ("Hurons," he calls them) and Shawanese, had brought in three prisoners to that place. It was the result of a raid into Kentucky. How many scalps were also brought in is not mentioned. So it was that Girty signalized his change of domicile by going upon this successful maraud. Kentucky was the theater, generally, of attacks by the savages earlier in the season than were the settlements in South-western Pennsylvania and (what is now) West Virginia; and this for obvious reasons—the climate was milder.

Brodhead, with over one hundred and fifty regulars and

* Roosevelt, in speaking of Simon Girty (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, p. 220, citing the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 256), says: "He was the son of a vicious Irish trader, who was killed by the Indians; he was adopted by the latter, and grew up among them, and his daring ferocity and unscrupulous cunning early made him one of their leaders." If the idea here is, that Girty, while he was held captive among the Senecas, became one of their leaders, it is erroneous. Or, if the author means to say that Girty's "daring ferocity and unscrupulous cunning" alone made him, during the Revolution, a "leader" of the Indians, it is also a mistake. It was not only the characteristic first mentioned (he had no "unscrupulous cunning") that gave him prestige with the Mingoes and Wyandots; it was (2) his being sent among them by Hamilton and DePeyster; and (3) for the reason that he spoke their language. And even then, his being a "leader" must be taken in a restricted sense; he was only such on the war-path with parties of Indians, when the latter were not led by Rangers, or "Indian officers." His voice was never, during that war, particularly potent in their councils.

nearly as many militia (who joined him at Wheeling), crossed the Ohio on the 10th of April, 1781, on an expedition against the Delawares of Coshocton. The colonel's success was complete. He returned with considerable plunder, after killing fifteen warriors and taking more than that number prisoners, four of whom, with the women and children, he released.

About this time, and while Simon Girty was at Upper Sandusky, a prisoner, Henry Baker, was brought in—a boy eighteen years of age—by a small war-party. He was captured at the narrows, on Wheeling creek, in what is now the State of West Virginia. Nine prisoners were also at Upper Sandusky besides young Baker. These were from Kentucky. They were all compelled to run the gauntlet. The boy, being very active, ran it easily and without receiving a blow. This so enraged a young Indian that he knocked him down with a club, after he had reached the council house. The nine Kentuckians were all burned—one a day until all had miserably perished. Baker was a witness to these frightful scenes. Then came his turn. He was ordered to be taken out by an old chief and tied to a stake. He resisted somewhat, and tried to parley with the savages; for, on starting, he espied a white man on horse-back rapidly approaching. When he came up, Baker ran up to him and implored him to save his life. This white man was Simon Girty. The latter inquired who he was and where he was from, and at once interceded in his behalf. His efforts were crowned with complete success; for the savages relented and let him go free. Girty asked him, aside, a great many questions concerning Wheeling and its vicinity, which induced the boy to believe that he intended soon to make him a guide in an attack on that place. However, in this he was mistaken; for, through Girty's importunities, he was sent to Detroit, where DePeyster set him at liberty. Hiring himself to a man who traded with the Indians, he afterward escaped, along with two others, and all three reached their homes in safety.*

* Newton's History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia, p. 362.

"We sent to Coshocton," wrote Simon Girty after the destruction of that place, to the Detroit commandant, from Upper Sandusky, "twenty of our men [Wyandots] some time ago, and this day they have returned with the following news:"

"20th April. Colonel Brodhead, with five hundred men, burned the town and killed fifteen men. He left six houses on this [west] side of the creek that he did not see. He likewise took the women and children prisoners, and afterward let them go. He let four men [Delawares] go that were prisoners who showed him a paper that they had from Congress. Brodhead told them that it was none of his fault that their people [the Delawares slain] were killed, but the fault of the militia that would not be under his command. He likewise told them that in seven months he would beat all the Indians out of this country. In six days from this date, he is to set off for this place [Upper Sandusky] with one thousand men; and Colonel Clark is gone down the Ohio river with one thousand men.

"There were one hundred and twenty Wyandots ready to start off with me, until this news came. Your children [the Wyandots] will be very glad if you will send those people you promised to send to their assistance; likewise send the Indians that are about you, to assist us. The Christian ["Moravian"] Indians have applied to us to move them off before the rebels come to their town.

"I have one hundred and sixty Indians at this place. Their provisions are all gone; and they beg that you will send them some.

"Mr. Le Villier, when he heard that the rebels were in the Indian country, went off to the lower town [Lower Sandusky], where there was not a man but himself, and told the women and children that the rebels were close by. He ran off in the night [from Upper Sandusky] without giving notice to the [Wyandot] chiefs or me. He minds trading more than the king's business.

"I will be much obliged to you, sir, if you send me a little

provisions for myself, as I was compelled to give mine to the Indians." *

The hostile Delawares now entirely forsook the valleys of the Tuscarawas and Muskingum, drawing back to the Scioto, Mad river, and the Sandusky.† DePeyster then addressed them as his "children." ‡

General George Rogers Clark, who had gone from Kentucky over the mountains to Virginia, and who had determined on an expedition against Detroit, reached the Ohio, and began the descent of that river with a considerable force about the end of July. § Following him was a Pennsylvania body of soldiers, composed of volunteers and a company of state troops (Rangers), all under the command of Colonel Archibald Lochry, lieutenant of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

Already had extraordinary efforts been made to hasten to the southward what Indians could be collected to interpose a barrier to the advance of General Clark. These were under the direction of Captain McKee; with them was a company of one hundred Rangers ("Butler's") commanded by Captain Andrew Thompson. Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), a noted Indian of the Six Nations, and George Girty, with a party of Indians, "advanced upon the Ohio," capturing one of Clark's boats. They soon learned that Colonel Lochry was also on his way down the river, and they lay in wait for him. They attacked him on the twenty-fourth of August, about eleven miles below the mouth of the Great Miami, in what is now the State of Indiana. Every man present of the Americans—numbering in all over one hundred—was killed or cap-

* Girty to DePeyster, May 4, 1781.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 52.

‡ DePeyster to the Delawares, June 7, 1781, in "Miscellanies" of that officer, pp. 253, 254.

§ Roosevelt makes the glaringly erroneous statement that Clark "passed and repassed from Fort Pitt to the Falls of the Ohio and thence to the Illinois in the vain effort to get troops" for this expedition.

tured.* The fame of George Girty was considerably increased by this success. The knowledge he had gained of military affairs in Captain Willing's company before his desertion was not lost upon him.

Captain Brant and George Girty, after defeating Lochry, moved their command up the Great Miami, forming a junction with the Rangers and savages under Captains Thompson and McKee. With the latter from Sandusky had marched Simon Girty. The whole force of the enemy, except a sergeant and eighteen men left to take care of prisoners and stores, proceeded, August 28th, to the banks of the Ohio, to watch the movements of Clark, who was at Louisville.†

While the enemy were thus "waiting and watching," Simon Girty had an exceedingly narrow escape from death. His would-be slayer was none other than the haughty and redoubtable Captain Brant. It is not surprising that the latter, after his success against Lochry, felt elated—that he boasted in his cups of his prowess and of the capturing of a number of the enemy by his own hands. Simon's envy was awakened. Bluntly he told the boastful savage that he lied. The insult was instantly resented. Thayendanegea struck with his sword the head of the white man, who fell desperately wounded; but he lived, and finally recovered; carrying, however, a deep scar upon his forehead ever after. He declared

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 55, 56, 229, 230, and the authorities there cited. But none of these accounts have the given name of Captain Thompson. This I have obtained elsewhere. "George Girty, the only one of the Girty brothers who, contrary to the popular impression, ever actually deserted from the American army, was duly heard from in the summer of 1781. General Irvine, then in command of Fort Pitt, records the fact that a band of Indians under this loyal savage and the noted Brandt attacked on the 24th of August and below the mouth of the Great Miami a force of volunteers on their way to join Clarke, and killed or captured every man in the expedition."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 263. But General Irvine did not make this record about George Girty, as here stated, but such a record *was* made by the writer of this narrative in the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 55, 230, drawn from other sources than those of the Irvine letters.

† See McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. I, p. 280.

subsequently that he had received the saber-cut in battle and had killed his assailant;* it being *his* turn now to boast! It was a number of weeks before he could sit up; nevertheless, his recovery, considering the dangerous nature of the wound, was surprisingly rapid. It had no sooner healed so as to admit of his moving about than he started north, first reaching the Mingoes, and then going to Upper Sandusky, where he remained during the winter. By the middle of January, 1782, he had fully recovered; that is to say, he was well and hearty though the wound ever after gave him trouble, it having at times, some effect upon his mental condition.†

The rejoicing of the savages over Lochry's defeat was great. They believed that all danger of invasion by Clark was now over, and it required much persuasion on part of Thompson, McKee, and Brant to induce them to march further toward the Falls (Louisville). On the 9th of September, when within thirty miles of that place, they learned that Clark had abandoned his expedition, and they immediately began to disband. However, two hundred Wyandots and Miamis under McKee and Brant, moved southward into Kentucky "to attack some of the small forts and infest the roads," while the Rangers and the residue of the Indians returned to the northward. McKee and Brant's party (with which was George Girty) succeeded in killing a number of men, women, and children at Long Run; after which, these warriors, too, returned to their homes. Thompson reached Detroit early in October.‡

* Indian Captivity: A True Narrative of the Capture of Rev. O. M. Spencer, by the Indians, in the Neighborhood of Cincinnati. Written by Himself. p. 89. "I was," says Spencer, "afterward told [the wound] was inflicted by the tomahawk of the celebrated Indian chief, Brandt [Brant], in a drunken frolic." History and tradition abundantly corroborate this, except as to the instrument employed. For mention of the quarrel (but giving an erroneous statement as to its result), see Albach's *Western Annals*, p. 334. Compare, also, Howe's *Ohio*, p. 248.

† Concerning the affair between Simon Girty and Brant, many traditions have been preserved, all of a character more or less exaggerated, while some are wholly fictitious. That Brant regretted the act after he became sober, is probable.

‡ For particulars of this inroad, see the current histories of the West.

A party of Indians (not any, however, of those who had previously started south under McKee) numbering about two hundred and fifty, consisting of Wyandots, Delawares, Muncieys, and a small number of Shawanese, also a few Tories and French Canadian partisans, the whole headed by Captain Matthew Elliott (for that loyalist was now an "Indian officer" of that rank), marched from the Sandusky eastward until the Tuscarawas was reached at the "Moravian" Indian towns. This was the latter part of August. A portion, afterward, moved on toward the border, appearing, finally, in the vicinity of Fort Henry (Wheeling). There were three boys outside the fort; one was killed, one made prisoner, and the other escaped inside the fortification. In a moment the garrison (information having been sent from Pittsburgh to the post of the danger threatened) was ready to receive the savages. The latter seeing the borderers fully prepared for them, soon disappeared, doing but little mischief, except killing all the cattle they could find. Their depredations up Wheeling and Buffalo creeks, however, were, before they re-crossed the Ohio, much more serious. They killed and captured several persons.

Much fiction has found its way into print concerning this attempt of the enemy against the fort at Wheeling. "Both the date and the facts of the second demonstration against Fort Henry," says a published account, already a number of times cited, "which occurred early in September, 1781, have been badly mixed by different writers; but it is quite evident that the Girtys participated in the siege."* It is now known, however, that neither of the three Girty brothers—Simon, James, or George—took part in this expedition; nor was the stockade sufficiently invested by the savages to justify the movement being designated a siege. Fort Henry was twice

Additional facts recently published may be found in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 128-130; and the authorities there cited may be consulted with advantage. See, too, *McBride's Pion. Biog.*, Vol. I, p. 280.

* *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 263.

besieged and only twice; once in 1777 as already mentioned, and again in 1782 as will hereafter be shown.*

The enemy, before leaving the Tuscarawas on their return home, broke up the missionary establishments upon that river, taking the missionaries and their families, and all the "Moravian" Indians, with them to the Sandusky, where, at a point a little over two miles above the present Upper Sandusky, county seat of Wyandot county, Ohio, but, on the opposite (east) side of the river, they (the Moravians and their Indians) prepared to spend the winter. The Girtys, it must be understood, did not help plan the expedition, nor did they take any part in it.† Zeisberger giving information to the Americans was the cause of the enemy's action.

While the savages were on their way back to Sandusky, seven of the Wyandots, of whom three were sons of the Half King, left the main party and again marched for the border, raiding into a small settlement on Harman's creek, in Washington county, taking one prisoner—a man about sixty years of age. The savages immediately started on their return, but were soon pursued by a number of settlers, to the Ohio river, where they were overtaken and all killed except one; and he, their leader, Scotosh by name, one of the three brothers before alluded to, escaped wounded. The white prisoner was released. Andrew Poe, one of the pursuers, his gun missing fire, boldly sprang upon and grappled two of the Indians—sons of the Half King. During a most violent struggle, which was continued first on shore and then in the river,

* "It is absolutely impossible to find out the real facts concerning the sieges of Wheeling; it is not quite certain even whether there were two or three."—Roosevelt. There is, however, it is suggested, no difficulty in finding out all the important facts concerning them, or in discovering that there were but two.

† In a previous work (*An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 190), the writer of this narrative says: "[Simon] Girty was one of the plotters of the scheme which resulted in the breaking up of the missionary establishments upon the Muskingum [*i. e.*, upon the Tuscarawas, as afterwards known]." But further investigation makes it certain that he had nothing to do with it, directly or indirectly; neither had his brother James or George.

Andrew killed one of the Indians, but was himself badly wounded. Adam Poe, a brother, coming to his relief, shot the other savage. Meanwhile, Andrew then in the water, by mistake, received a second wound from one of his own men. The settlers lost one of their number. Neither of the Indians killed by the Poes was named Big Foot, nor was either of them of unusual size, as has been so long and persistently claimed by Western writers.*

NOTE I.—It will not be forgotten that, in the first place, Simon Girty was sent by Hamilton to dwell among the Min-goës; and that too, for specific purposes. It has, however, been published that he first “allied himself with the Wyandots, ‘the bravest of the tribes,’ with whom he was more or less identified until the day of his death. They had known him ever since his childhood, and they received him now as an adopted Indian.”—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 261. (Compare, also, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782*,” p. 187.) But Girty’s residence upon the Sandusky did not take place, as before narrated, for nearly three years from the time of his joining the British, and then, at the instigation of DePeyster. He had seen little of the Sandusky Wyandots previous to the beginning of the war, except at Pittsburgh; the Detroit Wyandots he had never visited; nor was he received by the former as an adopted Indian.

NOTE II.—“Simon Girty (spelled Girtce in the old records) was born and raised in the Cumberland valley, Pennsylvania,” declares a modern Pennsylvania author. “His parents were Swiss-Germans, and were much addicted to the use of strong drink and gambling, both of which became characteristics of Simon. It was, doubtless, owing to the fact that Simon Girty’s parents taught him by example these bad habits, and left him no legacy but one of dishonor, that he for-

* *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 61, where the name of the leader of the Indians is incorrectly spelled “Scotash.”

sook the settlements to serve with young Simon Kenton on the frontiers. He joined the Virginia militia, and seemed anxious to distinguish himself as a soldier. He was disappointed at being promoted, and instead, through the influence of his colonel, publicly disgraced. He fled from the settlements and took up his abode along with a number of others on Sherman's creek, but here he was again followed by the whites, who burnt his cabin in 1750, and turned him loose to roam the wilds as an outcast under the ban of the law. He took up his abode with the Wyandotte Indians, with whom he lived a foe to the whites, more cruel and relentless than his adopted people."—Wright's *History of Perry County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 33, 34. In all that has come under my notice concerning Simon Girty, I have found no such confusion of dates and statements as this.

NOTE III.—Most writers on Western history give the name of the unfortunate colonel killed while going down the Ohio on his way to join Clark, as "Loughry" or "Loughrie," but the proper spelling is "Lochry." Before Brant's return to Detroit, he (Brant) was wounded in the leg (Powell to Haldimand, October 20th; and same to same, December 6, 1781.—MS. letters, Haldimand Papers). This fact and the previous quarrel between him and Simon Girty have led to the erroneous tradition, which is current, that Girty wounded Brant.

NOTE IV.—The story of the Poe fight was first written for, and printed in, a magazine, with a number of fanciful embellishments, about "Big Foot," etc. The whole article was copied by Doddridge as veritable history in his notes. It has since been re-copied numberless times and with many variations. I have given simply the facts, with the imaginary portions omitted.

CHAPTER XV.

The year 1782 was one of great activity in the West. In no year during the war were there enacted so many stirring events. Simon Girty acted his part in the drama, but it was not one so prominent upon the wilderness stage as history has been disposed to assign him. He appeared in many "characters;" and just at this point, where we get a close view of him, we find how perverse and cruel he had become. Evidently, to a great extent, had his sorrow for hasty action in leaving his country, which would occasionally possess his mind, worn off. More and more was he growing attached to the cause he had espoused. Being naturally of an impulsive turn, the dictates of humanity would occasionally get the better of his pernicious feeling against his countrymen, prompting him to save the life of a fellow-being from the awful tortures of the savages; but increasing in frequency was his giving loose rein to the ferocity of his nature. He was, in the latter part of the winter, a constant companion of Dunquat, the Half King of the Wyandots. Heckewelder saw much of him at this time. In speaking of the suffering of the missionaries and the "Moravian" Indians, who, it will be remembered, were left upon the Sandusky, at the coming in of winter, he says: "Towards the end of January [1782], the cold during the nights became almost insupportable; the more so, on account of the smallness of our huts, not permitting the convenience of our having large fires made within them, and even wood being scarce where we were. Our houses having no flooring, whenever a thaw came on, the water, forcing passages through the earth, entered in such quantities that we scarcely could keep our feet dry. The cattle finding no pasture in these dreary regions, and we not being able to procure any for them, now began to perish by hunger, and, as provision for so many people could not be had even for

money, famine took place, and the calamity became general; many had now no other alternative but to live on the carcasses of the starved cattle, and in a few instances suckling babes perished for want of nourishment from the mothers' impoverished breasts.

"The missionaries had, at this time, reduced their daily allowance of provision for bread to a pint of Indian corn, per man, a day. Now and then Mr. McCormick sent them a leg of venison purchased of the hunters. Yet, in this wretched situation, the hungry Wyandots would often come in our huts to see if there was any victuals cooking, or ready cooked. At one time, just as my wife had set down to what was intended for our dinner, the Half King, Simon Girty, and another, a Wyandot, entered my cabin, and seeing the victuals ready, without ceremony, began eating."*

The Half King at Sandusky, as may be supposed, lost none of his animosity against the Americans because of the killing of two of his sons (by the Poes, it will be remembered) in the previous fall, while on a marauding expedition across the Ohio. And that his enmity should be kindled against the Moravian missionaries, who were upon the Sandusky, was very natural, for he very well knew what their sympathy had been for the Americans. That Simon Girty should have been his willing instrument to aid him in getting these men out of the country, is not at all a matter of wonder.

"Girty (or 'Captain Girty,' as he called himself)," says Heckewelder, "an outcast among mankind—dwelling among the Wyandots, and frequently going with them to war against the people of the United States, would instigate the former [that is, the Wyandots] to do us all the mischief they could; and was a principal in raising their suspicion against us. This man (as we were informed from good authority) came one day about that time [February, 1782] to Mr. McCormick, and requested him to write a letter for the Half King, the purport

* Heckewelder Narrative, pp. 299, 300.

of which was: 'that the missionaries at Sandusky kept up a continual correspondence with the Americans; and received regularly, every ten days, letters from Pittsburg; and that they were endeavoring to persuade the Virginians to destroy the Wyandot nation, etc.' That gentleman, however, inquiring of him as to the truth of which he wanted written, and being answered, 'that it made no difference to him [McCormick] whether it was true or not:' and he peremptorily declined writing falsehoods for him; however, reports stated, that he had got the letter written by some other person. A letter was, shortly after this, written for the Half King to the commandant [Major DePeyster, at Detroit], stating 'that he, (the Half King) would be uneasy in his mind, as long as the teachers [Moravians] remained at Sandusky, he fearing some misfortune, and therefore requested the commandant to take them away as soon as possible; but that, if he refused, he himself would know what to do!'

"This last letter had the desired effect, the commandant [DePeyster] well understanding, what was meant to be done to us, in case we were not removed: he sent an answer to the Half King to that purpose, we however were entirely ignorant, of what was intended, until on the first day of March, a messenger, sent by the Half King and Simon Girty arrived, who by their order cited all the teachers 'to appear before them to-morrow morning at the house of McCormick, there to hear a letter read written by the commandant at Detroit to the Half King and "Captain Girty" respecting us.'

"We considered it unnecessary for all of us to go so great a distance, for the purpose of hearing the contents of a letter; David Zeisberger, and the writer of this, concluded to go by themselves, and accordingly we set off on foot early on the next morning, and having waded the eight miles through the snow, found the Half King and Simon Girty there [about five miles below the present Upper Sandusky, county seat of Wyandot county, Ohio], waiting for us. The latter seeing but two of us arrive, impudently insulted us, for having disobeyed their orders, to which we calmly, and in a civil manner

replied. After which, Girty having mounted on a kind of stage, about six feet in height, he took an open letter in one hand and a black string of wampum beads in the other, and addressed us with an air of contempt in these words: 'Gentlemen! At length you have brought upon yourselves what you have so long deserved, by means of your attachment to the rebels! Your deeds are no more hidden! they are known to the commandant at Detroit! hear this letter read, which is sent to the Half King! I will read it to you; No! take it and read it yourselves—and look at this! (holding up the string of wampum) look well! do you see that it is black? The cause of its being a black string instead of a white one, you already know, so that I need not tell you; mind! it is sent with the letter!'

"The contents of the letter alluded to were to this effect: 'That in consequence of the Half King's request, the commandant [DePeyster] had determined to remove the teachers [missionaries] from among the Christian ["Moravian"] Indians—and he hereby did appoint "Captain Girty" to bring them to Detroit. That, in case Girty should be otherwise engaged, he should appoint another fit person to bring the teachers on. That should Girty, or any other person bringing them in, want assistance, the Half King should help him!'

"On those words, where the Half King was called on to render him assistance, if required, Girty laid a particular stress—meaning whereby, to threaten us if we refused to go, and saying (with a loud laugh), 'Gentlemen! take notice! the Half King is to help me!'

"We saw nothing in this message that tended to frighten us. That the wampum beads sent with the speech of the commandant, were black, did not surprise us in the least—nor was any thing bad meant against us, by asking the assistance of the Half King in bringing us to Detroit, if Girty stood in need of it; for the commandant had closed his letter, or speech to them, with a special charge, 'not to plunder us, nor other-

wise abuse us; neither to suffer us to be plundered or abused by any person whatsoever.'”

“On the morning of the 13th of March,” continues Heckewelder, “a Frenchman named Francis Levallie [Le Villier], from Lower Sandusky, gave us notice that Girty, who was to have taken us to Detroit, having gone with a party of Wyandots to war against the Americans on the Ohio, had appointed him to take his place in taking us to Detroit, and that on the next day after to-morrow (the 15th) he [Le Villier] would be here again to set out with us. A little conversation with this man satisfied us that we had fallen into better hands. He told us ‘that Girty had ordered him to drive us before him to Detroit, the same as if we were cattle, and never make a halt for the purpose of the women giving suck to their children. That he should take us round the head of the lake (Erie) and make us foot every step of the way’—that he, however, would not do this, but would take us to Lower Sandusky, and from that place send a runner with a letter to the commandant at Detroit, representing our situation, and taking further orders from him respecting us.” *

Leaving the missionaries preparing to obey the orders of DePeyster, at Detroit, by getting ready for the journey to Lower Sandusky as suggested by the loquacious Frenchman who was to take charge of them, let us follow Simon Girty in his raid with his war-party of Wyandots to the Ohio. He left Upper Sandusky, on the 17th of March, under instructions from the Detroit commandant, to see certain disaffected persons on the border if possible. He had with him Scotosh, the Half King’s son, and eight other Wyandots. Before reaching the Ohio, his force was joined by other Wyandots under the lead of the war chief, Abraham Kuhn; so that the party then numbered thirty. Girty soon saw from the report of an Indian he had sent ahead that it would be too dangerous to undertake the real object of his journey, the Virginians having scouts so thick in that quarter. He determined at once, upon getting this information, to see what he could do

* Heckewelder’s Narrative, pp. 303–306, 308, 309.

in the way of taking some scalps or prisoners, or perhaps both.* The force divided—one party crossing that river at Mingo Bottom, a short distance below what is now Steubenville, Ohio; another numbering fourteen, with Abraham Kuhn, proceeding to Fort McIntosh, in hopes of ambuscading some of the soldiers of that post. With those who crossed the Ohio, went Girty.

Girty's party again divided, ten of the warriors going some distance up the Ohio, while he and the residue soon struck inland. On the first of April, Scotosh, who led the ten warriors, captured with his own hands Thomas Edgerton, who was on his way from his cabin, at the mouth of Harman's creek, to Colonel James Brown's fort, to borrow a log-chain of him. The Indians came suddenly upon him and made signs to him to surrender; but he made an effort to escape; was mired in the creek; and the savages made him prisoner, hurrying him with them across the Ohio. The warriors who went to Fort McIntosh were even more successful; for they ambushed five of the garrison, killing or taking prisoners the whole party, who were out wood-cutting and had carelessly laid down their arms to load their wagon. Girty and his warriors went to the home of Zachariah Spriggs, near the site of the present West Liberty, took prisoners John Stevenson of the militia and one of Spriggs's negroes, the latter, however, effecting his escape. The marauders passed a point of land about a mile above the mouth of the Virginia Short creek, which is still called "Girty's Point." They succeeded in re-crossing the Ohio with their prisoner and one scalp, reaching Upper Sandusky on the eighth of April.†

On the return of the whole force, Edgerton was left at the Half King's town, where a portion of the Wyandots remained, while the residue, with Girty among them, proceeded on to Lower Sandusky, when, on the twelfth of April, Girty wrote to DePeyster, giving him an account of his maraud.‡ So far

* Girty to DePeyster, April 12, 1782, from Lower Sandusky.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Girty to DePeyster, April 12, 1782.—MS. letter before cited.

‡ Id.

as shooting down inoffensive and unsuspecting bordermen, or hurrying them into the wilderness as captives to be tortured by the Indians, was concerned, he was now certainly acting the part of a savage. If he did not, with his own hands, tomahawk and scalp women and children, it only serves to show that his civilized nature revolted from doing directly what his savagery prompted him to do indirectly in leading and encouraging the Indians to such barbarity. It is not known that he actually took part with the savages in torturing prisoners at the stake ; but it is certain, as we shall presently see, that he took delight in seeing it done.

Of the "Point" before mentioned as having received its name from the circumstance of Girty and his warriors passing the place with their prisoners, much has been written. "Girty's Point, above the mouth of Short creek," says a Western chronicler, "is a short distance from the Ohio, and is the abrupt terminations of one of the elevated ridges. It derived its name from the famous and infamous white renegade, Simon Girty. It was his favorite place for striking into the interior. The path first made by his Indians is still used by the people of the neighborhood." *

"A settlement at West Middletown, in Washington county, Pennsylvania, and one at West Liberty, in the adjoining county of Ohio, in the State of Virginia," are the words of another Western writer, "were, in the year 1781, the most advanced posts of the North-western frontier. These settlements had been the scenes of frequent skirmishes between the settlers and savages. The tribes of the Scioto and Miami valleys had made this frontier a favorite point of their marauding incursions. The war-parties generally crossed the Ohio river at the Mingo bottom [on the west side of the river just below the present Steubenville, Ohio]; and, taking advantage of a deep ravine above a high promontory that projects boldly into the river, and known as Girty's Point, concealed themselves, if circumstances made concealment necessary, or as-

* De Hass, in his *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, p. 342.

cended into the highlands of the interior, to the neighborhood of the settlements. The infamous Simon Girty frequently led these marauding parties to this high point bearing his name, whence he sent out his parties, and where he remained till they returned laden with the sanguinary spoils—prisoners and scalps from the devastated settlements.”*

But these extracts are misleading. The maraud when Stevenson was taken prisoner was the only one in which Girty ever led a war-party across the Ohio at or near the “Point,” so far as there is any positive evidence.

NOTE I.—Heckewelder’s assertion that Girty was “an out-cast among mankind” is wholly unwarranted. In no sense (whatever was the cruelty—the savagery—of his nature) had he been cast out or expelled by his countrymen; he was not an exile—one driven from home or country.

NOTE II.—“Friday, March 1 [1782], through a messenger [we] were summoned to Pomoacan [the Half King], who sent word he had something to tell us. Br. David [Zeisberger] who was especially summoned went there Saturday, the 2d [of March] with Br. Heckewelder and two Indian brethren, where also a council of Wyandots and Delawares was assembled; there it was told us by the Half King that a letter had come from the commandant in Detroit [DePeyster], which a white man, Simon Girty by name, had given him to read, and indeed it was not written to us, but to him [Simon Girty]; and to our great amazement it contained the following sentence regarding us missionaries:

“You [Simon Girty] will please present the strings I send you to the Half King and tell him I have listened to his demand. I therefore hope he will give you [Girty] such assistance as you may think necessary to enable you to bring the teachers [missionaries] and their families to this place [Detroit]. I will by no means allow you to suffer them to be •

* S. C. Coffinberry, in the *Monthly Literary Miscellany* for September, 1851, p. 388.

plundered or any way ill-treated.'"—Diary of David Zeisberger, Vol. I, p. 68.

NOTE III.—It is altogether probable that Le Villier told the missionaries what was not true as to Girty having ordered him to drive them like cattle to Detroit. Between this Frenchman and Girty there was no good feeling; besides, it would have been strange indeed for the latter to be in any manner instrumental in disobeying the positive injunction of DePeyster that they (the missionaries) should not be in any manner ill-treated.

NOTE IV.—The site of Upper Sandusky was no longer up the river from what is now the county-seat of Wyandot county, Ohio. The Wyandots had moved their village eight miles farther down the river and on the west side of the stream. Here the Half King had his home; and this was now the head-quarters of Simon Girty, although he was frequently, so long as the Revolution lasted, at Lower Sandusky. Upper Sandusky of 1782 and the Half King's town were, therefore, identical. (For its exact location, see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* under Col. William Crawford in 1782, p. 162.)

CHAPTER XVI.

We will now return to the Moravian missionaries at their quarters upon the Sandusky, eight miles above the Half King's town. Agreeably to the letter from DePeyster and the desire of Le Villier, they had departed for Lower Sandusky on their way to Detroit, commencing their journey on the 15th of March, with the person last named, instead of Girty, as their conductor. "Many of the brethren and sisters ['Moravian' Indians]," says Heckewelder, "accompanied us part of the way, and some continued with us until our arrival at this place [Lower Sandusky]; the sisters carrying our two small children by turns on their backs well secured in their blankets from the wet and cold. Our conductor, Mr. Lavallie [La Villier], seeing the senior missionary [David] Zeisberger, (at that time upwards of sixty years of age) set out on foot, took his own riding horse to him, saying: 'No, monsieur! that will not do! here is my horse at your service! Zeisberger replying: that he would try to walk with the rest. 'No!' (said the Frenchman) 'respect both for your age, and the station you are in, demands this of me as a duty!' and walking off, he took his post in the rear of us. It was a most fatiguing journey to us all, on account of the badness of the roads; and particularly to those who were afflicted with rheumatic pains.

"Arriving at Lower Sandusky, after several days traveling through the wilderness and swampy grounds, we were kindly received, by two English traders, who resided about a mile from each other, with the principal village of the Wyandots between them. Mr. Arundle having a spacious house, took in those who had families, while Mr. Robbins made the two single brethren welcome at his house, our conductor lodging with the former. With the assistance of Mr. Arundle, a letter was immediately written to the commandant at Detroit

[Major DePeyster], and sent by express, to inform him of our arrival at this place, setting forth our situation—the impossibility of our traveling by land to Detroit (as Girty had ordered it), and hoping he would assist us with a boat, etc.”*

The return to Lower Sandusky of the warriors of that place who had gone against Fort McIntosh and the settlements above Wheeling, is thus given by Heckewelder :

“It so happened, that one day, when all appeared quiet at and about the village [of Lower Sandusky], I took a walk to Mr. Robbins’s house, where the brethren, Young and Edwards, were lodged ; and while there, the scalp yell was sounded at the same time, in two opposite directions ; and both war-parties could, owing to the very high situation of the spot the house was on, be plainly seen, coming on with their prisoners and scalps, though yet a great distance : both parties having prairie ground to travel on. Having asked Mr. Robbins’s opinion, which would be the best for me to do, to go straight-way home to my quarters, or wait until the storm was over, he advised the first ; for me it was fortunate that the situation of the village, prevented the inhabitants hearing the yells on the back side, the way I was coming ; while from the other side, they not only heard the yells plainly, but also saw the party with their prisoners and scalps advancing, and knowing that they would be taken to the dwelling of the captain of the party (but about fifteen yards beyond Mr. Arundle’s house), they all ran full speed *from* the village to meet them ; which gave me an opportunity of passing through the village after they left it ; and I had just reached my lodgings, when the party, consisting of fourteen warriors, with three prisoners, and some scalps, which they had taken at Fort McIntosh (they being on fatigue while attacked and taken), were ascending the bank at the back side of the house we lodged in, and from whence these prisoners had to take their start, in running what is generally called the ‘gauntlet.’ The other party,

* Heckewelder’s Narrative, pp. 329, 330.

who came in from the back side, having none but scalps, stopped at the village, from where as from the opposite side, the scalp yell was sounded and resounded at intervals.”*

The missionaries, who had now been nearly four weeks at Lower Sandusky awaiting an answer from the commandant at Detroit, were getting uneasy lest Girty should return before their departure; in which event, they feared ill-treatment at his hands, believing as they did all they had heard as to orders he had given LeVillier respecting them. We will let Heckewelder narrate what happened now that Girty had arrived and found them not yet gone:

“He [Girty] *did* return, and behaved like a madman, on hearing that we were here, and that our conductor had disobeyed his orders, and had sent a letter to the commandant at Detroit respecting us. He flew at the Frenchman, who was in the room adjoining ours, most furiously, striking at him, and threatening to split his head in two for disobeying the orders he had given him. He swore the most horrid oaths respecting us, and continued in that way until after midnight. His oaths were all to the purport that he never would leave the house until he had split our heads in two with his tomahawk, and made our brains stick to the walls of the room in which we were. I omit the names he called us by, and the words he made use of while swearing, as also the place he would go to if he did not fulfill all which he had sworn that he would do to us. He had somewhere procured liquor, and would, as we were told by those who were near him, at every drink renew his oaths, which he repeated until he fell asleep.

“Never before did any of us hear the like oaths, or know any body to rave like him. He appeared like an host of evil spirits. He would sometimes come up to the bolted door between us and him, threatening to chop it in pieces to get at us. No Indian we had ever seen drunk would have been a match for him. How we should escape the clutches of this white beast in human form no one could foresee. Yet at the proper time relief was at hand; for, on the morning, at break

* Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 231, 332.

of day, and while he still was sleeping, two large flat-bottomed boats arrived from Detroit, for the purpose of taking us to that place. This was joyful news! And seeing the letter written by the commandant to Mr. Arundle respecting us, we were satisfied that we would be relieved from the hands of this wicked white savage, whose equal, we were led to believe, was (perhaps) not to be found among mankind.*

And thus Zeisberger: "An Englishman [Girty] who lives among the Wyandots, who received the order to conduct us to Detroit, but, because, together with the Indians, he went to the war, had got another to take his place to go with us, came back from the war and showed himself a Satan towards us, swore at us, and threatened to bury the tomahawk in our heads. Through the whole night he drank his fill in the house where we were, and we were in danger of our life, not alone from him: a Wyandot squaw who robbed us in Schönbrunn, we heard say again and again, she would come and kill us all. We could not sleep the whole night, for he [Girty] was like one mad, and worse than the drunken Indians, yet the Savior shielded us from harm and let the angels sing: 'They shall be uninjured.'"[†]

A curiosity is now naturally awakened to know if the confident expectations of Heckewelder in escaping the wrath of Girty were realized. His account of the matter is interesting:

"The letter from the commandant [at Detroit—Major De-Peyster]—after first thanking the gentlemen here [at Lower Sandusky], for their kindness to us; next requested them to inform him, if they knew any of the persons, who had taken the liberty of insulting us, either before or since we had arrived at this place [Lower Sandusky], and if so, to give him

* Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 332-334.

[†] Diary of David Zeisberger, Vol. I, p. 86. Both the missionaries were unduly frightened at the boisterous behavior of Girty. Had he broken in upon them, the result would have been, beyond a doubt, only more swearing and threatening; for the renegade stood in too much fear of De-Peyster to have harmed them, drunk as he was.

their names, that he might punish them, etc.—That he had given strict orders to the sergeant, who was to take us on, to treat us kindly—not endanger our lives on the lake (Erie) by sailing in stormy weather, nor even to proceed, when he found that we considered it dangerous, or showed marks of fear, and finally that Francis Lavallie [Le Villier], who had brought us so carefully thus far, should continue with us, till our arrival at Detroit; and guard us against any insults, which might be intended against us by Indians, &c. The letter being read to Captain Girty by Mr. Arundle, in the morning, we saw no more of him while heré.

“On the morning of the 14th of April, after a stay of near four weeks at this place, we, after taking an affectionate leave of our humane and hospitable hosts, Arundle and Robbins, embarked in the boats, with seven men of the king’s rangers to each boat, the one under the care of Sergeant Race, and the other under a corporal of the same name. The boats were either rowed or put under sail, as the wind was favorable; but lying to in boisterous weather. We were on the whole voyage treated by the boatmen, with kindness; and not an oath was heard during the voyage.”*

Some time after the return home of Scotosh to Upper Sandusky from his raid to the eastward, the prisoner he had captured was presented to his mother, the wife of the Half King, to be adopted in place of the sons she had lost in the Poe fight; but the squaw refused the present. It was thereupon decided that he should be tortured at the stake. The story of the whole affair subsequently reached the ears of Heckewelder, who was misinformed, however, as to the person that captured the prisoner, as well as regarding other matters connected with it. The following is his version of the event:

“In the spring of the year 1782, the war chief [Abraham Kuhn] of the Wyandots of Lower Sandusky sent a white prisoner (a young man whom he had taken at Fort McIntosh) as a present to another chief, who was called the *Half King*

* Heckewelder’s Narrative, pp. 334, 335.

of Upper Sandusky, for the purpose of being adopted into his family, in the place of one of his sons, who had been killed the preceding year while at war with the people on the Ohio. [In the Poe fight.] The prisoner arrived and was presented to the Half King's wife, but she refused to receive him, which, according to the Indian rule, was, in fact, a sentence of death. The young man was therefore taken away, for the purpose of being tortured and burnt on the pile. While the dreadful preparations were making near the village, the unhappy victim being already tied to the stake, and the Indians arriving from all quarters to join in the cruel act or to witness it, two English traders, Messrs. *Arundle* and *Robbins* (I delight in making this honorable mention of their names), shocked at the idea of the cruelties which were about to be perpetrated, and moved by feelings of pity and humanity, resolved to unite their exertions to endeavor to save the prisoner's life by offering a ransom to the war-chief [Abraham Kuhn], which he however refused, because, said he, it was an established rule among them that when a prisoner who had been given as a present was refused adoption, he was irrevocably doomed to the stake, and it was not in the power of any one to save his life. Besides, added he, the numerous war captains who were on the spot had it in charge to see the sentence carried into execution. The two generous Englishmen, however, were not discouraged, and determined to try a last effort. They well knew what effects the high-minded pride of an Indian was capable of producing, and to this strong and noble passion they directed their attacks. 'But,' said they in reply to the answer which the chief had made them, 'among all those chiefs whom you have mentioned, there are none who equals you in greatness; you are considered not only as the greatest and bravest, but as the best man in the nation.' 'Do you really believe what you say?' said at once the Indian, looking them full in the face. 'Indeed, we do.' Then without saying another word he blackened himself and taking his knife and tomahawk in his hand made his way through the crowd to the unhappy victim, crying out with a loud voice, 'What have you

to do with *my* prisoner?' and at once cutting the cords with which he was tied, took him to his house which was near Mr. Arundle's, where he was forthwith secured and carried off by safe hands to Detroit." * The name of the prisoner was Thomas Edgerton, already mentioned.† Scotosh treated Edgerton with kindness on his way to the Sandusky and upon his arrival at the Half King's town.

After the departure of the missionaries from Lower Sandusky, Simon Girty made his way (it was the thirteenth of April) to Upper Sandusky, meeting Edgerton there and informing him (which, before, he had not known; for this was before his narrow escape from torture) that the Indian whose prize he (Edgerton) was, was none other than the survivor of the Poe fight and the only remaining son of the Half King—bearing on his hand the scar of a severe wound there received.‡ Scotosh had previously given the particulars of the encounter to Girty, the latter recounting them to Edgerton. He (Scotosh) stated that, on finding himself disabled by his wound, he stole away from the fight and, swimming the Ohio, hid in the bushes until dark. He then constructed a raft, recrossed the river, and recovered the body of his slain brother (the other one having floated off), conveyed it to the Indian side of the Ohio, and there buried it, after which he made his way in sorrow to the Sandusky. Edgerton paid a high tribute to Indian virtue in his description of this warrior. According to his account, he was a man of excellent principles. He (Scotosh) defended him on his way to the Sandusky, when his life was in danger from the other warriors of the party, and shared with him his blanket, even giving him the largest part; he also divided with him the last morsel of meat. Edgerton was afterward sent to Detroit and finally released, reaching his home in safety. §

* Heckewelder's *History Indian Nations*, pp. 162, 163.

† Vermont Historical Society Collections, Vol. II., p. 356 (where Edgerton's name is given "Adgerton").

‡ Newton's *History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia*, p. 114.

§ Newton's *History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia*, p. 144. The fiction about the big Indian, in the Poe fight, is retained by Roosevelt.

Among those captured at Lochry's defeat was Christian Fast, of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, of that part which afterward became Fayette—a boy about seventeen years of age. He was wounded before being made prisoner, suffering much, but his life was spared. He was taken by the Delawares to Upper Sandusky (the Half King's town), thence to Pipe's town on the Tymochtee, some eight miles away. Young Fast was adopted into a Delaware family, in the place of a son who had lost his life in a border skirmish. He was still residing with his Indian parents on the banks of the Tymochtee, in 1782, when Girty came up from Lower Sandusky to the Half King's town. Girty was constantly on the move; first at Wingenund's camp in the present Jackson township, Crawford county, Ohio, a short distance west of what is now Crestline; then at Pipe's town, where young Fast was living. Naturally, the latter became at times very melancholy. Thoughts of home stole upon him. Upon one of these occasions, he left the wigwam where he was staying and proceeded a short distance into the woods, and, seating himself upon a log, soon was lost in meditation. While thus musing, he was accosted by a stranger who had suddenly come near him unperceived. Fast was spoken to in the Delaware language by his visitor, the latter inquiring what he was thinking about. The reply was, that he had no company and felt lonesome. "That is not it," said the stranger, "you are thinking of home. Be a good boy and you shall see your home again." The speaker was Simon Girty. It was but another instance of his kindness to boy prisoners. Fast afterward got pretty well acquainted with Girty, and was the recipient of several favors at his hands. The boy subsequently made his escape from a war-party with which he had gone into the settlements, and reached home in safety.*

In 1782, Thomas Girty is again heard of, from a petition

* For particulars of the capture of Christian Fast, see Knapp's *History of Ashland county, Ohio*, pp. 507-509. Compare also Hill's *History of the same county*, pp. 138-138. See, too, Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, pp. 56, 57.

signed by him and four other citizens, addressed to Brigadier-General William Irvine, then in command of Fort Pitt, and dated the 29th of May of the year last mentioned. "The humble petition," say the signers, "of a part of the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh most humbly begeth: that your honor will be pleased to take it into consideration, that several of the officers and soldiers of this town have of late made a constant practice in playing at long bullets in the street that goes up by the brew-house, and that a number of children belonging to us, who are dwellers on the same street, are in danger of their lives by the said evil practices,—we therefore hope (since we have no civil magistrate to apply to) that your honor will condescend to put a stop to such practices in the street, by your own special orders."* The practice, it is hardly necessary to say, was at once strictly prohibited.

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 290, 291. "The power of circumstances and education to affect the lives and conduct of men is here strikingly exemplified. Thomas Girty, reared among patriotic and civilizing influences, was now one of the respected and substantial citizens of Pittsburgh (Fort Pitt), and at the very time his three Indian brothers were joining in the war-whoop of the braves . . . he was known as a lover of his country and was seeking to increase the security and good order of his town."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 266, 267. This statement is based upon the petition given in the text above, from the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, where it is for the first time published.

CHAPTER XVII.

Leaving Simon Girty upon the Sandusky chiefly in the company of the Half King of the Wyandots, plotting against his countrymen, doing all in his power to further British interests, and urging parties of Indians onward to attack the frontiers, let us turn our attention to the aspect of affairs in the border settlements to the eastward. In the previous fall—1781—Colonel Brodhead had been relieved as commandant at Fort Pitt by Colonel John Gibson, and the latter in November following by Brigadier-General William Irvine.

Because of the scarcity of provisions upon the Sandusky, about one hundred and fifty of the "Moravian" Indians, including men, women, and children, were allowed to go back to the Tuscarawas, by the Half King, to gather corn, which had been left standing by them in the fields of their villages. They started, some on the 16th and others on the 19th of January, 1782, neither of the missionaries nor any other white persons accompanying them. However, it was the 9th of February, before all had departed. With these "Moravians" went ten other Indians,* but of what tribe is unknown, though doubtless they were Wyandots. On the 8th of February, warriors reached the border, killing one person—John Fink. A party of Indians, numbering forty, as indicated by their tracks, of whom not less than thirty were, from the best information that can be got "Moravians," raided from the Tuscarawas into the settlements, capturing, on Raccoon creek, Mrs. Robert Wallace and her three children, but the youngest and Mrs. Wallace were tomahawked before the Ohio was reached. This occurred on the tenth of the same month.†

* Dorsey Pentecost to the Governor of Pennsylvania, May 8, 1782, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Old Series, Vol. IX, p. 540.

† The tracks of forty warriors were noted (see *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 30, and April 16, 1782); there could not have been, therefore, less than thirty of the party "Moravians," as no other Indians, save the ten

Soon after, a war-party of six, of whom two were "Moravians," also left the valley of the Tuscarawas, striking the settlements on Buffalo creek and carrying off John Carpenter as prisoner.* There was now no doubt in the minds of the borderers that "enemy Indians"—that is, "British Indians"—were harboring in the recently deserted "Moravian" Indian towns upon the Tuscarawas. Thereupon, James Marshal, lieutenant of Washington county, Pennsylvania, ordered out, according to law, some of the militia to march across the Ohio and attack them.† The force was commanded by Colonel David Williamson. Upon reaching the Tuscarawas, ninety of the "Moravian" Indians—men, women, and children—together with six of the other Indians who had come with them from the Sandusky, were captured at Gnadenhütten, and subsequently all killed, except two boys who succeeded in eluding the militia.‡ The residue of those from the Sandusky were in one of the other villages; these, taking the alarm, made good their escape. The militia supposed, until they learned the contrary from their prisoners, that they had captured only British Indians. When they became assured that most of the captured were "Moravians," they concluded to take them to Fort Pitt and deliver them to General Irvine, who commanded there, and they so informed their prisoners; but subsequently they discovered garments and other things in possession of the captives, which convinced them that they—the "Moravian" Indians—had just been raiding into the settlements, and that it was *their* trail which had been followed by the militia; which belief, as to about thirty of those Indians, there can be no doubt was well founded.

warriors already mentioned, had, up to that time, reached the Tuscarawas from their villages to the westward of that river.

* Pennsylvania Packet, April 16, 1782.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 239, 240, where this fact (that is, that those who marched were not only militia, but were regularly called out by the proper authority) is, for the first time, published.

‡ "One of them [that is, one of the militia] took off with him a small Indian boy, whose life was thus spared."—Roosevelt. This has long since been proven erroneous.

Williamson's men, suddenly made desperate by what they had discovered (some of the bloody garments being recognized as having belonged to the victims of one of the raids before mentioned), resolved to put to death, without discrimination, all who were in their hands; and this resolution, as we have already mentioned, they proceeded to carry into effect. It was a ghastly retaliation, only made possible by the previous aggressions of the thirty "Moravian" Indians and the "British Indians" who were with them.

Dorsey Pentecost, a prominent citizen of the West, wrote to the governor of Pennsylvania on the 8th of May. In speaking of the killing of the "Moravians," he declares that, "Thus far, I believe, it may be depended on, that they [Williamson's men] killed rather deliberately the innocent with the guilty, and it is likely the majority was the former;" that is, that a majority of the "Moravian" Indians taken prisoners at Gnadenhütten had not, it is likely, been on the late maraud into the settlements.

It was no new thing for the "Moravians" to go upon the war-path against the border settlements, though this was never with the consent of the missionaries. But the former could not always be kept under control, much less watched. "Did your Indians," afterward asked DePeyster of Zeisberger, "ever go to war?" "Never," was the reply, "while under our charge." This was virtually an admission that they did sometimes go to war when not under the missionaries' charge. And it is certain they were not, at any time during the year 1782, under the charge of any one of them, either at Gnadenhütten or any where else upon the Tuscarawas. That the surviving "Moravians," some of them, afterward went to war upon the Sandusky, is susceptible of the clearest proof.

That garments and other articles were found at Gnadenhütten in possession of the "Moravian" Indians, which had just been taken from the Americans in the raids before mentioned, even the Moravian writers do not deny. It must stand as a fact that can not be gainsaid. "It is said here [in Pittsburgh], and I believe with truth," wrote Pentecost in the letter already re-

ferred to, "that sundry articles were found amongst the ["Moravian"] Indians that were taken from the inhabitants of Washington county [on the then recent raids]." *

"The borderers," wrote one who got his information from the militia after their return, "discovered that some of the ['Moravian'] Indians were wearing their friends' clothes who had been killed and scalped; and they also saw various kinds of plunder that had been taken in the war." †

Corroborative, to a certain extent, of the "Moravian" Indians having taken part, in considerable numbers, in the raid on Raccoon creek, which resulted in the killing of Mrs. Robert Wallace, as before mentioned, is the opinion of H. H. Brackenridge, of Pittsburgh, as given to Francis Bailey, of Philadelphia, on the 3d of August, of the same year. "I am . . . disposed to believe that the greater part of the men ["Moravian" Indians] put to death [at Gnadenhütten] were warriors; this appears from the testimony of one against another, from the confession of many, from their singing the war song when ordered out to be tomahawked, from the cut and painting of their hair, and from other circumstances." ‡

It is the uniform testimony of all persons who were under Williamson and who afterward made statements concerning the expedition which have been preserved, that it was the discovery of articles of clothing in possession of the "Moravians," taken from persons killed on the then recent raids into the settlements, which induced the militia to change their minds about taking them to Fort Pitt.

* Pennsylvania Archives, Old Series, Vol. IX, p. 540, already cited.

† James Smith, in a Treatise on Modern Management of Indian War, p. 58.

‡ From the Knight and Slover Narratives, original edition (1783), p. 31. As to the "Gnadenhütten Affair," compare, for many particulars, Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 67, 99, 127, 236-239, 240-242, 244, 282, 288, 289, 361, 372-374, 377, and the authorities there cited. For a weak attempt of a Moravian writer to account for the "Moravian" Indians having in their possession trophies of the raids into Washington county, and at the same time to exonerate them from any participation in those marauds, see Schweinitz's Life and Times of David Zeisberger, p. 546, note.

A wild and wholly sensational story—erroneous in every particular—has found its way into print to the effect that Williamson's expedition was planned in reality by the British at Detroit; that it was part of the British policy matured there, of having the "Moravian" Indians massacred by excited American borderers, in order to bring over to the British side all the tribes, and unite them against the colonists; and that Simon Girty in disguise went to the border settlements and among his old acquaintances, where he started and hurried on the expedition against the Moravian towns. "This was the kind of double life that Girty gloried in; first on the border, exciting the whites to kill the Christian ["Moravian"] Indians and burn their towns in the valley; next at the warriors' towns, inciting them to revenge the deaths of those Christians; and he lost no time in fanning the flame in their camp fires."*

Appropos of the account of the killing of the "Moravian" Indians at Gnadenhütten, is the fiction of Simon Girty having, about that time, sold to one of them a young lad named Isaac Walker. The writer of that romance mentions that a patriarch of these Indians, named Abraham, visited in the previous fall, "along with other worthies," the Wyandot villages on the waters of the Sandusky, for the purpose of purchasing some captives that might have fallen into the hands of the ruthless Wyandots that season. They remained on the Sandusky until after the tragedy of Gnadenhütten and then set out to return (at least one of them—"Father Abraham"). The writer then goes on to say:

"Six weeks after the spoiler had left his bloody foot-prints on the thresholds of the Moravian villages, the good patriarch, Father Abraham, returned from his mission to the Wyandots. He led in his hand a white lad of twelve years old, by the the name of Isaac Walker, whom, at an exorbitant price, he had purchased from [Simon] Girty, with a view of restoring him to his parents in Virginia. But he found his village

* Newton's History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia, pp. 112, 113.

[Gnadenhiitten] in ashes, his fields laid waste, and the blood of his children dried in clots on his giant stairway. The poor old man stood and gazed in silence over this scene of desolation. The party that had accompanied [him] remained in the forest behind him, to chase the elk and the moose. He stood alone of all his people in the midst of this ruin. No one was present but the fair-haired boy, he led by the hand. He turned to that boy and thus addressed him :

“ ‘Boy, I took you from the firm Wyandot to restore you to the bosom of your parents ; but go, plunge again into the wilderness ; it is better to be a redman than a pale face. The God of the pale face is false ; he will not protect his children. The pale face lies. He teaches the redman to spare the blood of his victim, but drinks it himself into his belly. Go, boy, fly from the footsteps of the pale face and worship the Manitou of the redman. The pale face is false.’ ”

“ This boy returned with Abraham to Sandusky, where he grew up a Wyandot chief, and where his posterity remained till within a few years, when the Wyandots were removed by Congress to a place west of the Mississippi.” *

So far as Isaac Walker is concerned, all that is not pure fiction in this account is, the fact of his capture by the Wyandots, when a boy, his being adopted into their tribe, and his descendants going West, when the Wyandots left the Sandusky.

“ The small parties that I served out ammunition to, the 1st of March last,” wrote Simon Girty from Lower Sandusky to DePeyster, on the 12th of April, “ are all returned except one party. They have brought in fourteen men’s scalps and four men prisoners ; so that there have neither woman or child suffered this time. There is one Indian killed and three wounded. I shall leave this place to-morrow morning and proceed to Upper Sandusky. I take with me one hundred pounds powder and two hundred pounds of ball and eight dozen of knives, for the use of the Wyandots, Monseys and

* C. S. Coffinberry, in the *Monthly Literary Miscellany*, of September, 1851, pp. 385-394.

Delawares. I was obliged to purchase some little necessities from Mr. Arundel [the trader] that were not in the king's store, which I hope you will be good enough to excuse, as I did it for the good of the service. I should be very much obliged to you if you would be kind enough to order me out some few stores, that I may have it in my power to give a little to some Indians that I know to be deserving."*

It is thus seen that Girty among the Wyandots was not, as some have supposed, to all intents and purposes an Indian of that tribe—roaming lawlessly about, with no aim, when not on the war-path, but to pass his time in dancing, feasting, and drinking. On the contrary, although only paid as an interpreter, he was frequently attending to the king's business upon the Sandusky for the Detroit commandant, as though he had been actually a sub-agent of the British Indian Department.

At Detroit, Major DePeyster had been busy, during the winter, in concerting measures for the Indians and British to attack Fort Pitt, so soon as the weather in the spring would allow; but, in February, two deserters arrived at the Shawanese towns upon the Mad river from General Clark at Louisville, giving the information that Fort Pitt was put into such a state of defense as would render the reduction of it uncertain; but that the fortification at Louisville was weak and could easily be taken.

However, just at this time, alarming intelligence came from the East, sent to Detroit by Simon Girty, inducing an immediate concentration of every available force upon the Sandusky, to be prepared to act on the defensive.

Many schemes had been advocated—many plans had been laid—in the border settlements and at Fort Pitt against the Wyandots; as it was well known their towns and those of their neighbors were the prolific hives of mischief to

* MS. letter, already cited. The words, "so that there have neither woman or child suffered this time," tell but too plainly a tale of woe—a horrible tale of thousands of innocent victims that *had* "suffered" by savages as did the Indian women and children at Gnadenhütten by white men.

the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As yet, the expeditions that had actually marched to attack them were, first, the abortive one under General McIntosh, who, had he continued against Detroit, would have assailed the enemy upon the Sandusky on his way thither; and, second, that of Brigadier-General Clark, in 1781, who, had he been able to have marched from the Falls of the Ohio, would have struck the Wyandots and their allies on his way also to Detroit. It was finally determined (the consent of General Irvine having first been obtained) to organize a volunteer force and assail these savages in their homes; for their aggressions had become wholly unendurable to the bordermen. Prominent citizens of Westmoreland and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, and of Ohio county, Virginia, engaged actively in recruiting and in otherwise aiding the undertaking.

Of the volunteers who went upon the campaign, about two thirds were from Washington county; the residue, except a few from Ohio county, Virginia, were from Westmoreland. The final rendezvous was at the Mingo Bottom, on the west side of the Ohio river, where, on the twenty-fourth day of May, four hundred and eighty finally congregated. General Irvine materially helped along the movement by furnishing some supplies of ammunition and flints, and by sending his aid (John Rose) and an assistant surgeon of his garrison (Dr. John Knight) to accompany the expedition.

The whole force, with Colonel William Crawford, of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania (an officer of the Continental army), as their leader, began their march, on the 25th of May, for Upper Sandusky.* All were mounted. But, previous to

* Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 159, says: "Colonel William Crawford was a fairly good officer, a just and upright man, but with no special fitness for such a task as that he had undertaken." To say that Colonel Crawford was "a fairly good officer," is "damning with faint praise." General Joseph Reed declared him a "very good officer," and Washington said he was "brave and active." And it is positively and particularly wrong to assert that he had "no special fitness for such a task as that he had undertaken."

giving further particulars of their march, it will be necessary, to a proper understanding of the part taken by Simon and George Girty on the side of the Indians before the Americans reached the Sandusky, to follow up the chain of events in the Sandusky country and at Detroit, from the time knowledge of the movement first reached there until all measures had been perfected for as complete a defense as possible.

The fear of an expedition under command of General Irvine from Fort Pitt against Detroit, kept DePeyster, at the post last mentioned, fully awake for early information, should such an enterprise be undertaken by the former. From John Stephenson, the prisoner taken by Girty in his raid across the Ohio, information was gained of an expedition on foot against Upper Sandusky; and the latter, upon his return to Lower Sandusky, sent the intelligence to DePeyster.* However, the intended campaign was given up almost as soon as formed; but another was afterward set on foot, the one before noted as being under command of Colonel Crawford; which fact soon came to the knowledge of the Wyandots, who sent to the Detroit commandant an urgent request for help. DePeyster at once responded to the appeal by getting ready a vessel (the "Faith") to convey Rangers to the Sandusky river.† Girty was with the Half King when the account reached the Wyandots of the actual marching of Crawford; and he exerted himself to the utmost in aiding that chief to call in all the absent warriors and hunters of the nation. The Delawares at Wingenund's camp, near what is now Crestline, Ohio; those on the Tymochtee, at Pipe's town; and such as were in their villages, to the southward;—all were quickly notified of the impending danger. Runners were also sent to the Mingoes and Shawanese with the intelligence that the Wyandots were to be assailed; for this fact was immediately made evident to the Indians who were watching the movements of the Americans at the Mingo Bottom, when the direction taken by the latter was observed as they took up their line of march from the Ohio.

* Girty to DePeyster.—MS. letter of April 12th, already frequently cited.

† DePeyster to Powell, May 16, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

DePeyster lost no time in dispatching Rangers and some "Lake Indians" to the help of the Wyandots. The former were a company commanded by Captain William Caldwell.* Crossing Lake Erie to Lower Sandusky, they began their march up the Sandusky river, making all possible haste to succor their Indian allies. The Rangers had with them two field-pieces, and a mortar, which, however, they were compelled to leave for a detachment to bring forward as best they could, while the main force was urged on to Upper Sandusky, where they arrived "just in time of need," meeting there a wild assemblage of whooping and stamping Wyandots and Delawares, and some Mingoes. Adding to the foregoing the "Lake Indians," and the whole Indian force numbered not less than two hundred. These, with the white troops, were gathered at the Half King's town, on the 4th of June, to give battle to Crawford's advancing army. In command of the entire army was Captain Caldwell. Under him, to direct the movements of the Indians, was Captain Elliott. Dunquat had the immediate command of the Wyandots; Captain Pipe, of the Delawares. With the latter was George Girty; with the former, Simon Girty.

NOTE I.—No one of the prominent events occurring in the West during the Revolution has been written about with so much ignorance of the facts as Williamson's expedition to the Tuscarawas, which resulted, as we have seen, in the killing of ninety "Moravian" Indians and six "British Indians," prisoners—men, women, and children. Nearly all published accounts from Doddridge (Notes on the Settlement and Indian

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 122, 127, 305, 368, 370, 371, 378. None of the officers or interpreters (or other employes) of the British Indian Department at Detroit were Rangers. Nor were any French-Canadian partisans, American prisoners, or loyalists, unless regularly enlisted in one of the companies of "Butler's Rangers," as the whole were usually designated, although they were sometimes spoken of simply as "the Corps of Rangers" (see DePeyster's *Miscellanies*, pp. 247, 261). Caldwell was not, as Roosevelt asserts, an Englishman. He was born in Ireland. At the commencement of the Revolution, he lived in Pennsylvania. He was a "refugee loyalist."

Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, etc.) to Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*), contain many errors. Among the Moravian writers, there is nothing lacking in coloring or in misstatements; and, with some of them, there is downright falsification.

As neither of the Girtys was directly or remotely (except in foolish traditions) connected with the expedition, a more extended account than that which is found in this chapter could not be indulged in; and even this has only been given because it paves the way for introducing other events in which they were actors of more or less importance.

NOTE II.—The letter of Simon Girty to DePeyster, of April 12, 1782, from which several extracts have heretofore been given, was as follows:

“[LOWER] SANDUSKY, *April 12, 1782.*

“SIR:—I left Upper Sandusky as early as the 17th of March in company with the Half King’s son and eight others; but, as to the place I intended to go, I found it impracticable, for the Virginians were too thick scouting in that quarter, which rendered my design abortive; and the paper that you gave me, I had no opportunity of delivering to them that I wanted to see. I was obliged to go another way and make a stroke, and push off as fast as possible. We killed one soldier and took one man prisoner, and arrived at Upper Sandusky the 8th of April. The said prisoner informed me that General Irvine had returned from the Congress to Fort Pitt; that he had been down for two battalions of troops; but whether he had obtained them or not, he could not tell. He further says on his [Irvine’s] arrival at Fort Pitt, he had called all the militia officers together and likewise the regular captains to a council of war, and that it was determined to start in a few days on a small campaign, their number to consist of about 500 foot and 300 horse; that they intended to go to Sandusky—and are to march from Fort McIntosh.

“The ‘Moravians’ that went from Upper Sandusky this spring to fetch their corn from their towns where they lived last

summer, are all killed by the Virginia militia; the number of dead amounts to ninety-six men, women, and children. There is a Delaware man arrived, that has been some time confined at Fort Pitt. He made his escape, and informs that all the Delawares that lived there as friends to the Americans are killed by the Virginians—and as to the other news from that quarter, it is just the same as given by the prisoner that I brought in.

“The small parties that I served out ammunition to, the 1st of March last, are all returned, except one party. They have brought in fourteen men’s scalps, and four men prisoners; so that there have neither woman nor child suffered this time. There is one Indian killed and three wounded. I shall leave this place to-morrow morning, and proceed to Upper Sandusky. I take with me one hundred pounds of powder and two hundred pounds of ball, and eight dozen of knives for the use of the Wyandots, Monseys, and Delawares. I was obliged to purchase some little necessaries, from Mr. Arundell, that were not in the King’s store, which I hope you will be good enough to excuse, as I did it for the good of the service. I should be very much obliged to you, if you would be kind enough to order me out some few stores, that I may have it in my power to give a little to some Indians that I know to be deserving.

“These are the particulars the prisoner gave. As to what Mr. Arundell or Levellee [Le Villier] has sent in, I know nothing; for what information they had was from an Indian. I have nothing more particular to acquaint you with.

“I remain, with much respect, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“SIMON GIRTY.

“MAJOR DEPEYSTER.”

NOTE III.—“On the forenoon of the 4th day of June [1782], there were [before the arrival of the Rangers] but few white men in the wild assemblage of whooping and stamping Delawares and Wyandots at their rendezvous. But of these few was one deserving particular notice. He was dressed as an

Indian, but without ornaments. He seemed, as he really was, the very incarnation of fierceness and cruelty. His name was SIMON GIRTY. His voice rose high above the din and tumult around. He spoke the Delaware and Wyandot languages fluently. As he rode furiously back and forth, he volleyed forth fearful oaths in his native tongue." This, principally upon the authority of William Walker, was given to the public as fact in 1873, in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782,*" p. 182. But, I am now satisfied that, so far as the statement relates to Girty, it is, in the main, pure fiction.

NOTE IV.—That Williamson's men at Gnadenhütten first intended to take their prisoners to Fort Pitt and deliver them to General Irvine, and that they so informed the captives, there is not a shadow of doubt; but the Moravian writers, with the full knowledge of this in the relation of one of their church members, made public at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, soon after the expedition to the Tuscarawas, make no mention of the fact. The reason is evident. It proves that, up to that moment, the militia intended no harm to the "Moravian" Indians; that what was *afterward* discovered was the cause of their putting them to death. One of the "Moravians," it is true, was shot when the Americans first approached the town; but this was when the assailants supposed they were attacking "British Indians" only. (Compare, in this connection, the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 237, 238.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

On the fourth of June, Crawford and his army reached a point a short distance north of what is now Upper Sandusky, Ohio, where the enemy was encountered and a battle commenced between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, which ended at sundown with the advantage on the side of the Americans. The firing wholly ceased as the daylight disappeared. The enemy had five killed and eleven wounded; the Americans, five killed and nineteen wounded. Captain Caldwell was among the wounded, and was compelled to leave the field at the beginning of the action.* Captain Henry Hoagland, of the Americans, was shot and instantly killed; and Captains James Munn and Ezekiel Ross were wounded; both, however, recovered. Major James Brenton was also slightly wounded. John Rose and John Gunsaulus were the undoubted heroes of the conflict on the side of the borderers; while Captain Elliott and Lieutenant Clinch, the latter of the Rangers, "in particular, signalized themselves," on the British and Indian side.† The fighting was in and around a grove afterward well known as "Battle Island," three miles north and a half mile east of the present Upper Sandusky, and about two miles south-westerly of the Upper Sandusky of 1782, or the Half King's town, in what is now Crane township, Wyandot county, Ohio.

It is a well authenticated tradition that George Girty behaved well upon the battle-field; that he exhibited consider-

* Lieutenant John Turney to DePeyster, from Upper Sandusky, June 7, and Captain Caldwell to same, June 11, 1782.—Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 368, 369.

† "Too much can not be said in praise of the officers and men and the Indians. No people could behave better. Captain [Matthew] Elliott and Lieutenant Clinch in particular signalized themselves."—Turney to DePeyster, June 7, 1782, before cited.

able bravery and was active in encouraging his redskin companions to greater exertions; but as to the part taken by Simon Girty, there is no mention; none in all the British and Indian official correspondence; and even tradition itself (as coming from the side of the enemy) is utterly silent as to him. It was very different among the Americans. A large number saw him, as they verily believed. Some thought they heard his commands given in the Indian tongue and recognized who was giving orders. Francis Dunlavy, who was present, afterward declared, unhesitatingly, that several times during the conflict his voice fell upon his ears. Philip Smith, too, not only heard him, but more than once saw and recognized him—beyond gunshot, however, each time. He declared that Girty rode a white horse; appropriately—"death on a pale horse." Both Dunlavy and Smith had previously known him; nevertheless, both were, evidently, mistaken in their man. It was the general belief that he commanded the entire force; yet nothing is more certain than that he had no command whatever during the battle.

That the volunteers could have been so easily and so generally deceived is by no means surprising. The fighting was done in the tall grass of the Plains and the borderers had no idea they were combatting besides a large force of Indians, a considerable number of white men. It was their belief that, except a few renegades, they had savages exclusively to deal with. All knew that Simon Girty was making his home among the Wyandots—to all his name was a familiar one. Therefore it was that, whenever words were heard that seemed like those of a white man, the volunteers at once imagined them as the commands of Girty to his savages. Captain Elliott, as already noted, was conspicuous and active in his movements during the battle, and he it was, doubtless, who was frequently mistaken for Girty.*

* The statement in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* (p. 208), as to Simon Girty being frequently seen and heard, was given upon what seemed to be wholly reliable evidence, but which has since been discovered to be error.

During the night after the battle, both parties lay on their arms, each adopting the plan of building large fires along their lines and then retiring some distance, to prevent being surprised. Daylight the next morning brought with it no change in the relative position of the belligerents. Soon, however, the firing was renewed between the contending parties, but in a desultory manner and at long shot only. Crawford would gladly have attacked the foe at early dawn, but there were obstacles in the way; several of his men were sick and a number wounded. After nightfall a general attack was to be made. Early in the afternoon an event transpired which changed the aspect of affairs; this was the arrival of not less than one hundred and forty Shawanese under the command of Captain Snake as a reinforcement to the enemy. With them came Captain McKee and James Girty from Wapatomica. Then it was that the Americans discovered, for the first time, the presence of the Rangers, whom they supposed had also just arrived as succors to the enemy. Crawford concluded, therefore, that the contemplated attack had better be abandoned, and that a defensive policy would have to be adopted. A council of war was called and a retreat that night resolved upon. This was effected, but not without considerable confusion, as might be expected, and some loss in killed and captured.

Much fiction has found its way into print concerning an alleged interview between Colonel Crawford and Simon Girty during the 5th of June--the day after the battle. The account which has, probably, received the most credence, but which is wholly without foundation in fact, is the following Wyandot Indian tradition:

"The story respecting the battle is, that if Crawford had rushed on when he first came amongst the Indians, they would have given way and made but little or no fight; but they had a talk with him three days previous to the fight, and asked him to give them three days to collect in their chiefs and head men of the different tribes, and they would then make a treaty of peace with them. The three days were therefore given; and during that time all their forces gathered together that

could be raised as fighting men, and the next morning Crawford was attacked, some two or three miles north of the island where the main battle was fought.

"The Indians then gave back in a south direction until they got into an island of timber ["Battle Island"], which suited their purpose, which was in a large plain, now well known as Sandusky Plains. There the battle continued until night. The Indians then ceased firing; and, it is said, immediately afterwards a man came near to the army with a white flag. Colonel Crawford sent an officer to meet him. The man said he wanted to talk with Colonel Crawford, and that he did not want Crawford to come nearer to him than twenty steps, as he (Girty) wanted to converse with Crawford, and might be of vast benefit to him.

"Crawford accordingly went out as requested. Girty then said, 'Colonel Crawford, do you know me?' The answer was, 'I seem to have some recollection of your voice, but your Indian dress deprives me of knowing you as an acquaintance.' The answer was then, 'My name is Simon Girty;' and after some more conversation between them, they knew each other well.

"Girty said, 'Crawford, my object in calling you here is to say to you, that the Indians have ceased firing until to-morrow morning, when they intend to commence the fight; and as they are three times as strong as you are, they will be able to cut you all off. To-night the Indians will surround your army, and when that arrangement is fully made, you will hear some guns fire all around the ring. But there is a large swamp or very wet piece of ground on the east side of you, where there will be a vacancy: that gap you can learn by the firing; and in the night you had better march your men through and make your escape in an east direction.'

"Crawford accordingly in the night drew up his men and told them his intention. The men generally assenting, he then commenced his march east; but the men soon got into confusion and lost their course."*

* American Pioneer, Vol. II, pp. 283, 284. Joseph McCutchen, who fur-

At daybreak, on the morning of the 6th of June, about three hundred of the Americans, in retreating, had reached what had formerly been Upper Sandusky (south of the present town of that name, but on the east side of the river), across the site of which the army had passed on its inward march. It was then discovered that Colonel Crawford, Major McClelland, Captain Biggs, Dr. Knight, and John Slover were among the missing. McClelland was reported killed. The enemy had not been very eager in the pursuit, or the loss would, doubtless, have been much greater. The command of the army now devolved upon Colonel David Williamson. He was powerfully assisted by the gallant John Rose, who at once proffered his services as aid, which were gladly accepted.

Not long after the army had resumed its march, it was seen that the enemy were in pursuit. A considerable body of Indians and some Rangers were at length visible in the rear. So hard was the retreating party pressed, that, at two o'clock, when the eastern verge of the Plains was not far ahead and the woodland had almost been reached, a halt was called, and a general resistance determined upon by Williamson, to give his light horse at the same time a chance to secure the entrance to the woods. Although the enemy attacked on the front, left flank, and rear at the same moment, they soon gave way in every direction, so well directed was the fire of the Americans. Williamson lost three killed and eight wounded. Among the latter was Captain Bane, who was shot through the body, but recovered. The enemy soon rallied their scattered forces in the open country and renewed the pursuit; but on the morning of the seventh they were seen for the last time, and Williamson's march to the Ohio was not again interrupted. He recrossed the river on the thirteenth, and the next day the army was disbanded, it having received considerable accessions from straggling parties on its homeward march.*

nished this tradition for publication, assured the writer of this narrative, years after, that he was satisfied of its being wholly fictitious.

* According to Roosevelt, the campaign against Sandusky "was badly

Colonel Crawford became separated from his men just as the retreat commenced, on the evening of June 5th; and, with a few others, including Dr. Knight, made his way eastward, when, after striking the trail of the army, on the afternoon of the seventh, at a point just east of the present Leesville, in what is now Jefferson township, Crawford county, Ohio, he was captured by a party of Delawares, and most of those with him. The camp of Wingenund, a war-chief of the Delawares, was near by; there the captured were taken, and there kept until the tenth, when, early in the morning, they all started, strongly guarded, for Upper Sandusky Old Town. Colonel Crawford had been told that Simon Girty, with whom he was acquainted,* was at the Half King's town; and he had hopes, could he meet him, that an appeal to him might save his life. He therefore made a request of his captors that they would take him to the home of the Half King. This was agreed to, especially as, in so doing, two horses that had been left by Crawford's party, while retreating on the same route, were to be hunted for. The colonel, guarded by two Delawares, reached the Wyandot village—the Half King's town—some time during the night, and had an interview with Girty.

Girty told Crawford that William Harrison, the colonel's son-in-law, and William Crawford, his nephew (both of whom

conducted from beginning to end, and reflected discredit on most who took part in it; Crawford did poorly, and the bulk of his men acted like unruly cowards." This whole statement is far removed from the fact. See, in this connection, the Official Report of John Rose, printed in the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 367-378.

* In *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* under Col. William Crawford, in 1782 (p. 184), it is said: "He [Simon Girty] was frequently the guest at Crawford's hospitable cabin on the banks of the Youghiogheny." That Girty and Crawford were well acquainted is true; but that the former was a frequent guest of the latter is probably erroneous. The tradition, too, that Girty aspired to the hand of one of Crawford's daughters, but was denied, it is altogether certain has no foundation in fact. Crawford had frequently met him at Pittsburgh, and, it will be remembered, both were participants in Lord Dunmore's War, in the same division of the army.

came out with the army, and had been missing since the night of the retreat from the battle-field, on the sixth), were captured by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned and their lives spared at their towns. This information was true as to their having been taken prisoners, but false as to their capture by the Shawanese, for they had been taken by the Delawares; also false as to their lives having been saved: they had been most inhumanly tortured at the stake. Girty assured Crawford that he would do all he could for him.

Of the conversation which took place between the two, nothing is known with any degree of certainty. A "Moravian" Indian from the Tuscarawas, who understood English, was near the two, it has been told, and heard what was said. According to the statement of this Indian, Colonel Crawford offered Girty a thousand dollars if he would save his life. But Girty afterward reported that the Colonel "declared he would communicate something of importance if his life could be saved, but that nothing else would induce him to do it—intimating that some great blows would be struck against the country."* Girty did not mention any thing as to the alleged offer of a thousand dollars; it is certain, therefore, that it was not made.

Simon Girty must have known of Crawford's capture before the arrival of the latter at the Half King's town, as a letter written by Captain Caldwell to DePeyster from Lower Sandusky, the eleventh of June, says that "amongst the prisoners [are] Colonel Crawford and some officers."† Now, as the colonel did not reach *Upper Sandusky* (the Half King's town) until some time in the night of the tenth of that month, it is not reasonable to suppose that Captain Caldwell, at *Lower Sandusky*, got the news of his being a prisoner for the first time on the eleventh. It is quite probable that word of the capture of the "Big Captain" reached the ears of Girty by the ninth, if not the day previous. Did he make any effort

* Caldwell to DePeyster, June 13, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Collection.

† Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 370, 371.

in the colonel's behalf before the two had an interview during the night of the tenth? There is not the slightest evidence (nor is there any tradition) that he did. The great anxiety on the part of Girty to favor "his friend Crawford," so persistently paraded by himself and his friends and relatives in after years, was certainly not indicated in any manner *before* the unfortunate colonel made an earnest appeal to him for help. Did that indicate a friendly interest on Girty's part?

But, did Simon Girty, *after* his interview with Crawford, make an effort to save the life of the latter? In other words, did he do all he could for him, as he had promised? There is nothing mentioned about any thing of the kind in any of the correspondence extant between the British officers there and DePeyster—not a word intimating that any thing was said or done by Girty while at the Half King's town to save the life of his "friend." Captain Pipe, head-chief of the Delawares, was there, and if he was importuned by Girty to spare the unfortunate colonel, certainly DePeyster was kept in ignorance of it by the renegade.* Now, is it probable that the latter would have kept this information from the Detroit commander when he learned with what anxiety that officer inquired into the affair? Certainly he would not. Nor does it make it any more probable that Girty fulfilled, on his part, what he engaged to do, by his asserting strenuously, in after years, that he did all he could with Captain Pipe for Crawford while at the Half King's town; for, coupled with his subsequent declarations to that effect, were others which have been proven to be false.

Besides these statements of Girty, others have been preserved, taken from the lips of aged persons who, in previous years, had been prisoners among the Ohio Indians, and were present, as they claimed, upon the Sandusky (or not far away) when Crawford was captured, all purporting to give certain

* It is said in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* (p. 194), that Girty's influence, at this period, was as great with Captain Pipe as with the Half King. But this is a mistake. He was never on intimate terms with the Delaware chief.

facts showing Girty's determination while upon the Sandusky to ransom, if possible, his "friend." But all these traditional accounts, in one way or another, impeach themselves. "I have often heard, my mother-in-law speak of Simon Girty," says an aged informant, as set forth in a published article cited already many times in these pages. "She both saw and heard him interceding with the Indian chief for the life of Colonel Crawford; and he offered the chief a beautiful horse which he had with him, and the stock of goods he then had on hand, if he would release him, but the chief said 'No. If you were to stand in his place it would not save him.' "* Now, it is well known that Girty was not a trader—never had any goods or a store upon the Sandusky, as will hereafter be fully explained; besides, the last declaration, as coming from the Indian chief, is a gross absurdity.

NOTE.—The reasons why, on a previous page, I have given as probably erroneous the tradition that Simon Girty, previous to his flight from Pittsburgh, had often enjoyed the hospitality of Crawford, are (1) the distance of the home of the latter from that town; (2) the difference in the standing of the two—in their habits and manners—Crawford being looked upon as one of "the first gentlemen in the West;" and (3) the diverse employments they were engaged in—one a farmer, surveyor, officer in the American army latterly; the other an Indian interpreter. The writer in the Magazine of American History, of the article cited in the preceding note, is indebted to An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, for the tradition concerning the aspiring of Girty to the hand of one of Crawford's daughters, but he has added to it by calling it a "romantic attachment," and changed it somewhat, by referring to the girl as if she was the *only* daughter of Crawford.

* Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 266.

CHAPTER XIX.

When on the morning of the 10th of June, the Delaware guard left Wingenund's camp having in charge eleven American prisoners (including Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight) to go to the Old Town—the former Upper Sandusky—twenty-five miles distant, it was not long before Crawford was separated from his companions to go to the Half King's town to see Simon Girty, as before related. It was late in the afternoon before the others reached their destination. Here they were securely guarded during the night, and early the next morning Captain Pipe and Wingenund, the Delaware war-chiefs, came up the Sandusky river from the Wyandot village to the place where they (the captives) had staid during the night. Captain Pipe, with his own hands, painted the faces of all the prisoners black. As he was painting Dr. Knight, he told him (the war-chief spoke very good English) he should go to the Shawanese towns to see his friends—an implication that other American prisoners were there and unharmed; but Knight knew very well the meaning of the work engaged in by the wily savage—knew but too well if he saw any of his friends there it would be to suffer with them frightful tortures at the stake.

About an hour after the Delaware chiefs reached the Old Town, Crawford also arrived, whither he had been brought, as he had been told, to march into the Half King's village with the other captives. Captain Pipe and Wingenund, who had avoided him at the town below, now came forward and greeted him; he was personally known to both. They had frequently been in each others company. The colonel had met Captain Pipe at Fort Pitt as early as 1759. The dissembling war-chief told Crawford he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved—that is, adopted by the Indians—

when he came to see his friends (the prisoners) at the Half King's town; but, at the same time, he *Painted his face black*.

The painting the faces of their prisoners black by the Delawares and by other tribes, was their death-warrant. These Indians declared that the decree was prompted by the killing of the "Moravians" at Gnadenhiitten. Although it served as an excellent excuse,* it is altogether probable that, without such plea, the captives would still have been put to death.

The whole party now started on the trail leading to the Half King's town—the Wyandot village, eight miles below, on the Sandusky; but, as the march began, Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight were kept back by Captain Pipe and Wingennund. They were, however, soon ordered forward. They had not traveled far before they saw four of their comrades lying by the path tomahawked and scalped.

The two war-chiefs guarded well the colonel and Dr. Knight to the spot, the site of the present Upper Sandusky, when another trail than the one leading to the Half King's town was taken. Their course was now to the north-west, toward the Delaware village—Captain Pipe's town—on the Tymochtee. At the Little Tymochtee creek, the five captives besides Colonel Crawford and Dr. Knight who yet remained alive were overtaken. The prisoners were all now required to sit down on the ground—Crawford and Knight with the rest, but at some distance from the others. The doctor was then given in charge of one of the Indians to be taken on the morrow to the Shawanese towns. At the place where they had halted, there were a number of squaws and boys. These now fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them all. The young Indians came frequently up to the colonel and Dr. Knight and slapped them in their faces with the reeking scalps.

Again the march began when they were soon met by Simon Girty and several Indians, on horseback. The former, well knowing what was to be the fate of Crawford, had come from the Half King's town, across the Plains to Pipe's town, to be

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 127.

present at his torture, and had started out on the trail to meet the Delawares with their prisoners. Girty rode up to the colonel and spoke to him, but did not inform him that he was soon to suffer at the stake. Crawford and Knight were now separated—the former being about one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the latter. As they moved along, almost every Indian the prisoners met, struck them with sticks or their fists. Girty waited until Knight was brought up and then asked if that was the doctor. Knight answered him in the affirmative, and went toward him, reaching out his hand, but the renegade bid him begone, calling him a damned rascal; upon which the Indian having him in charge pulled him along. Girty rode after him telling him he “was to go to the Shawanese towns.” At that place there lived about thirty Delawares; there, he was to be burnt, Girty said, “to give some satisfaction for the killing of the ‘Moravian’ Indians.”* Surely, in this, one can not fail to see an encouragement to the Delawares to carry out their determination to burn the doctor; and, further, that it was a pleasure to Girty to know that such would be the result. A short distance further brought them near to the Tymochtee creek, where another halt was made. They had now arrived within three-quarters of a mile of the Delaware village, which was further down the stream.

“When we were come to the fire,” says Knight, “the colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after, I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the colonel’s hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The colonel then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe made a speech to the Indians, viz., about thirty or forty

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 376. But it is not entirely certain whether he was told this at the time or a little later.

men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys. When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said." *

It is very evident that, from the time Simon Girty met Crawford on the road to the Tymochtee, guarded by Captain Pipe and Wingenund, to the moment when the chief first named had finished his harangue, he (Girty) made not the slightest effort to save his old acquaintance from the cruel fate that awaited him; nevertheless, there are stories handed down from generation to generation, in the West, some as traditions among the whites, others as Indian traditions, to the contrary. Some of these have found their way into print. One preserved among the Wyandots runs as follows: "He [Crawford] was taken by a Delaware; consequently the Delawares claimed the right, agreeably to their rules, of disposing of the prisoner. There was a council held, and the decision was to burn him. He was taken to the main Delaware town, on a considerable creek, called Tymochtee, about eight miles from the mouth. Girty then supposed he could make a speculation by saving Crawford's life. He made a proposition to Captain Pipe, the head chief of the Delawares, offering three hundred and fifty dollars for Crawford. The chief received it as a great insult, and promptly said to Girty, 'Sir, do you think I am a *squaw*? If you say one more word on the subject, I will make a stake for you, and burn you along with the white chief.' Girty, knowing the Indian character, retired and said no more on the subject. But, in the meantime, Girty had sent runners to the Mohican creek and to Lower Sandusky, where there were some white traders, to come immediately and purchase Crawford; knowing that he could make a great speculation in case he could save Crawford's life. The traders came on, but too late." †

* Knight and Slover's Narratives, p. 11. The citation is from the original publication.

† The American Pioneer, Vol. II, p. 284. There is in all this not a word of truth. It is a continuation of the Wyandot Indian tradition cited on a previous page.

There are statements by descendants of Girty and others preserved, wherein are recorded what are claimed to be the facts concerning his attempts upon the Tymochtee to save the life of Crawford. But all these come from interested parties, and, when carefully examined, are found entitled to no credit.

So soon as Captain Pipe had finished his speech to the assembled savages—men, squaws, and children—the Indian men took up their guns and shot powder into Crawford's naked body from his feet as far up as his neck. It was the opinion of Knight that not less than seventy loads were discharged upon him! They then crowded about him, and, to the best of Knight's observation, cut off both his ears; for, when the throng had dispersed, he saw the blood running from both sides of his head!

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which Crawford was tied. It was made of small hickory poles burnt quite through the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood, and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with powder.

These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him, so that, which ever way he ran round the post, they met him with the burning faggots. Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers, and throw on him; so that, in a short time, he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk on!

In the midst of these extreme tortures, Crawford called to Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but the cruel renegade making no answer, he called again. Girty then, by way of derision, told Crawford he had no gun; at the same time, turning about to an Indian who was behind him, he laughed heartily, and, by all his gestures, seemed delighted at the horrid scene!

Girty then came up to Knight and bade him prepare for death. He told him, however, he was not to die at that place,

but was to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore, with a fearful oath, that he need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities! He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand that, if the Americans had him, they would hurt him. For his part, he said he did not believe it; but desired to know Knight's opinion of the matter. The latter, however, was in too great anguish and distress, on account of the torments Crawford was suffering before his eyes, and because of the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, to make any answer. Girty expressed a great deal of ill-will toward Colonel John Gibson, saying he was one of his greatest enemies—and more to the same purpose;* to all which Knight paid but little attention.

Crawford, at this period of his suffering, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued, in all the extremities of pain, for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer; when, at last, being unable to stand, he lay down upon his stomach.

The savages then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp into the face of Knight, telling him that was his "great captain." An old squaw, whose appearance, thought Knight, every way answered the ideas people entertain of the devil, got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on the colonel's back and head. He then raised himself upon his feet, and began to walk around the post. They next put burning sticks to him, as usual, but he seemed more insensible to pain than before. Knight was now taken away from the dreadful scene.† Crawford was then "roasted" "by a slow

* One of the letters of Gibson, captured by Girty at Fort Laurons, when the latter ambuscaded Captain Clark, was well calculated, as already stated, to stir up the wrath of the renegade, Gibson having declared, it will be remembered, that if he caught him he would trepan him.

† Knight and Slover's Narratives (edition of 1783), pp. 11, 12, where what took place at the torturing of Crawford is circumstantially, and, beyond all question, very truthfully described by Dr. Knight.

fire" * until death put an end to his frightful suffering. After he died—so runs the tradition—the faggots were heaped together, his body placed upon them, and around his charred remains danced the delighted savages for many hours.†

NOTE.—In the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 368–372, were printed, in 1882, from copies of the originals in the Public Record (State Paper) Office, London, England, the letters written by British officers engaged against Colonel Crawford and by DePeyster, giving an account of the fighting upon the Sandusky Plains; also one letter by an Indian chief who was present, written to the Detroit commandant. These transcripts were received by the author of this narrative after the publication by him of *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* under Col. William Crawford in 1782. They are, in general, extravagant in their estimate of the number of men killed by the Americans under Crawford, and erroneous as to the intent of the volunteers who marched upon that expedition. They, however, corroborate, in many cases, American statements, and, in some instances, especially as to who had command of the Rangers from Detroit, correct them. These letters also are a part of the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum, copies of which are in the public archives in Ottawa, Canada.

* Caldwell to DePeyster, June 18, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Collection.

† *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, pp. 391, 392.

CHAPTER XX.

After the torturing of Crawford upon the Tymochtee was ended, Simon Girty returned to the Half King's town and immediately started for Lower Sandusky, reaching there the night following. And this was his report to Captain Caldwell there of the awful scene, as that officer the next day informed DePeyster by letter:

"Simon Girty arrived last night from the upper village (Half King's town) who informed me, that the Delawares had burnt Colonel Crawford and two captains, at Pipes-Town, after torturing them a long time. Crawford died like a hero; never changed his countenance tho' they scalped him alive, and then laid hot ashes upon his head; after which, they roasted him by a slow fire. He told Girty if his life could be spared, he would communicate something of consequence, but nothing else could induce him to do it. He said some great blows would be struck against the country. Crawford and four captains belonged to the Continental forces. He [Girty] said fourteen captains were killed. The rebel doctor [Knight] and General Irvine's aid-de-camp [Rose] are taken by the Shawanese; they came out on a party of pleasure."*

It will be noticed that Girty here puts in no claim to having interposed, in any way, to save the life of Crawford while the latter was being tortured; but Captain Elliott, on returning to Detroit, declared that he [Elliott] endeavored to save him, but without avail. That this was true there can be no doubt; and it must ever stand as very greatly to his credit. Had Girty made an effort in the colonel's behalf, Elliott, it is more than probable, would have mentioned the fact to DePeyster.

* Caldwell to DePeyster, June 13, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers, cited in the previous chapter. Whether the error as to Rose and the "two captains," in this letter, are due to Girty or Caldwell, it is impossible to say.

James and George Girty soon made their way to the Indian villages to the southward, the former going with the Shawanese, the latter, with those Delawares (not belonging to the bands of Captain Pipe and Wingenund) who had come to the assistance of their friends and allies upon the Sandusky. George had, at the direction of DePeyster, gone among the Delawares to live, where he could be of more service than with the Shawanese. This took place soon after Brodhead's visit to Coshocton and the Delawares had withdrawn from the waters of the Muskingum. But what became of Dr. Knight after being taken from the terrible scene of Colonel Crawford's torture? "The doctor," wrote General Irvine to Washington from Fort Pitt, on the 11th of July, 1782, "returned the fourth instant to this place."* On his way to the Shawanese town, under guard of a single Indian, he "found an opportunity of demolishing the fellow and making his escape." He reached Pittsburgh after suffering much from the want of food.†

Of the stragglers from the American army who became separated from it on the night Colonel Crawford commenced his retreat from the battle-field of the 4th of June, John Slover was one. He was one of the guides to the expedition. On the ninth, when about twenty miles from the Tuscarawas, he, with two others, was, while making his way homeward through the wilderness, captured by the savages—two of his companions being killed, and one, James Paull, making his escape. The three prisoners were taken to the Shawanese towns. After arriving at Wapatomica, one was killed in a shocking manner; one was sent to another village, while Slover remained unharmed, except some injuries received previously in running the gauntlet. He was now, at a council, closely questioned in their own tongue by the Shawanese (for he spoke

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 126.

† Knight and Slover's Narratives, 1783, pp. 10-15, where the doctor gives a full account of his escape. The route taken by him from the Tymochtee, I have taken some pains to trace in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, pp. 342, 343, 369-374.

their language, also the Miami and Delaware, the first two with fluency, he having previously been a prisoner among the Indians). They interrogated him concerning the situation of his country; its provisions; the number of its inhabitants; the state of the war between it and Great Britain. He informed them Cornwallis had been taken. The next day Captain Elliott (who had arrived from the Half King's town) came with James Girty to the council. The last-mentioned, it will be borne in mind, had returned with the Shawanese from the Sandusky soon after the retreat of Crawford's army. The former assured the Indians that Slover had lied; that Cornwallis was not taken; and the Indians seemed to give full credit to his declaration.

Hitherto, Slover had been treated with some appearance of kindness, but now the savages began to change their behavior toward him. James Girty had informed them that when he asked him how he liked to live there, he had said that he had intended to take the first opportunity to take a scalp and run off. It was, to be sure, very probable that if he had had such intention, he would have communicated it to him! It was simply a story concocted to bring the prisoner to the stake.

After Slover's examination, the Indians gathered for a number of days in council laying plans against the settlements of Kentucky, the Falls (Louisville), and Wheeling, from fifty to one hundred warriors being usually present, and sometimes more. Slover also was generally in attendance. Every warrior was admitted, but only the chiefs or head warriors had the privilege of speaking—these being accounted such, from the number of scalps and prisoners they had taken. The third day Captain McKee, who had come on from Lower Sandusky (having gone thence from Upper Sandusky), which place he left on the 11th of June,* was in council, and afterward was generally present. He spoke little. He asked Slover no questions; indeed, did not speak to him at all. He then lived about two miles from Wapatomica; had a house

* Caldwell to DePeyster, June 11, 1782 (from Lower Sandusky).—Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 371.

built of square logs, with a shingle roof. He was dressed in gold-laced clothes.

Not long after this council ended, about forty warriors, accompanied by George Girty, who, as previously shown, had returned to the Delaware villages from the Sandusky after the retreat of Crawford's force, came early in the morning round the house where Slover was. He was sitting before the door. The squaw gave him up. They put a rope around his neck, tied his arms behind his back, stripped him naked, and blacked him in the usual manner. Girty, as soon as he was tied, cursed him, telling him he would get what he had many years deserved—showing clearly that he was delighted to know that death by torture was to be his doom. However, after the Indians had tied their prisoner to the stake, a sudden storm came up and they postponed their deadly work. Before it was renewed, Slover found means to escape, reaching the settlement at Wheeling in safety. "A certain Mr. Slover," wrote General Irvine to Washington, from Fort Pitt, on the eleventh of July, in a letter already alluded to, "came in yesterday [to Pittsburgh], who was under sentence of death at the Shawanese towns." * He was the last of all to reach home directly from the Western wilderness.† The entire loss to the Americans on the expedition, including those who subsequently died of their wounds, was less than seventy.

The truthful reports brought in by Knight and Slover concerning the three Girtys, conclusively show that they (the Girtys) had lost all feeling of compassion for their unfortunate countrymen held as captives by the Indians. It was now a

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 127. The full particulars of Slover's escape are given in the Knight and Slover Narratives of 1783, pp. 17-31.

† In a return of prisoners belonging to the provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, made on the 2d of November, 1782, by Nicholas Murray, commissary of prisoners, preserved among the Haldimand Papers, and published in the second volume of the Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, is the name of Joshua Collins, taken at Sandusky, June 5, 1782. Collins is the only one known to have been captured, besides Knight and Slover, who was not put to death by the savages.

delight to them to know of, and to witness, the horrible sufferings of these prisoners at the stake. Did they sometimes actually assist the savages in inflicting these tortures? This question will never be answered. "Dead men tell no tales."

NOTE.—Simon Girty is not without an apologist as to the part taken by him upon the Tymochtee, at the burning of Crawford. "Our border histories have given only the worst side of Girty's character. He had redeeming traits. . . . He certainly befriended Simon Kenton, and tried to save Crawford, but could not. In the latter case he had to dissemble somewhat with the Indians, and a part of the time appear in their presence as if not wishing to befriend him, when he knew he could not save him, and did not dare to shoot him, as he himself was threatened with a similar fate."—Lyman C. Draper, as quoted by Charles McKnight, in *Our Western Border*, pp. 424, 425.

When it is said that "he [Girty] had to dissemble somewhat with the Indians," the meaning of Draper is, the Delaware Indians. Why, or for what cause, was it necessary for Girty "to dissemble somewhat" with the Delawares? DePeyster declares that an "Indian officer" (Captain Elliott) was present and did all *he* could to save Crawford. Surely there was no dissembling on part of Elliott; and why should there have been on Girty's part? And then Girty had "a part of the time" to "appear in their [the Delawares'] presence as if not wishing to befriend him." Why was it necessary for Girty to go about eight miles to see the Delawares burn Crawford, "and a part of the time appear in their presence as if not wishing to befriend him [Crawford]?" Especially, why did he go all that distance "when he knew he could not save him?" That Girty "did not dare to shoot him, as he himself was threatened with a similar fate," is a tradition not entitled to a moment's consideration. Girty's cruelty and hard-heartedness were manifested, not in his refusing to put Crawford at once out of his horrible sufferings by shooting him, but in the *manner* of his refusal.

"Dr. Knight, who was captured with Crawford and witnessed his tortures, and who has long been accepted as a most reliable authority on this subject, while he says that Girty refused the prayer of the tortured man to shoot him and 'by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene,' does not make him in any way an assistant at it."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 265. This, however, must be taken with some grains of allowance. By his presence and delight, he encouraged the Delawares.

The Wyandots who were there, afterward affirmed, it would seem, that Girty actually did take part in the torture. There is also this additional on that point: "Dr. Knight, in his narrative of his captivity and burning of Col. Crawford," says Howe, in his *Historical Collections of Ohio*, p. 247, "speaks of the cruelty of Simon Girty to the colonel and himself. Col. John Johnston corroborates the account of Dr. Knight. In a communication before us he says: 'He [Simon Girty] was notorious for his cruelty to the whites, who fell into the hands of the Indians. His cruelty to the unfortunate Col. Crawford is well known to myself, and although I did not witness the tragedy, I can vouch for the facts of the case, having had them from eye-witnesses. When that brave and unfortunate commander was suffering at the stake by a slow fire in order to lengthen his misery to the longest possible time, he besought Girty to have him shot to end his torments, when the monster mocked him by firing powder without ball at him.'" But the statements made by the Wyandots present were only the outgrowth of a desire on their part to fix as much responsibility as possible on Girty for the torture of Crawford. That he was present, encouraging the Delawares, and, by his words and actions, seemed to take delight in the awful scene, was the part taken by him on that occasion.

The article in the *Magazine of American History*, just cited, says (Vol. XV, p. 264): "It is easy . . . to believe that the blackest thing that has ever been alleged against him [Girty] is that he not only did not save the tortured and slowly-dying colonel [Crawford], but answered him with a mocking laugh

when he begged him to shoot him and relieve him of his agony. It is said that even the devil is not as black as he is painted, and it is possible that the same may be said of Girty. Exactly how far his savage and perverted nature carried him on this occasion will never probably be accurately known." But the facts as related by Dr. Knight none can misunderstand; and, just how he acted and just what he said to Crawford and the doctor, are sufficiently described by the latter in his narrative.

The following, from an old ballad, entitled "Crawford's Defeat," is, of course, an erroneous account of the part taken by Girty:

" Well, now they have taken these men of renown,
And dragged them away to Sandusky town,
And there in their council condemned for to be
Burnt at the stake by cruel Girty.

" Like young Diabolians, they this act did pursue,
And Girty the head of this infernal crew—
This renegade white man was a stander-by
While there in the fire their bodies did fry." *

* This ballad, furnished by the author of this narrative to Frank Cowan, is printed entire by him in *Southwestern Pennsylvania in Song and Story*, pp. 353-356, and has since been copied into *Newton's History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia*, p. 123.

CHAPTER XXI.

Assembled at Wapatomica, in June, after the battles upon the Sandusky Plains, were all the tribes that were near—Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Munceys, and a portion of the Cherokees. With the Wyandots went Simon Girty, who stopped at Solomon's town. Although plans were laid against the settlements in Kentucky, including the Falls (Louisville), yet, as no further tidings of an aggressive movement on part of Clark had been received, it was determined, in the first place, to reduce Wheeling.

Captain McKee, the most influential white man at Wapatomica among the Indians, attended the most important of their councils, and gave advice to the savages, which was, in general, acted upon by them. The credit of this has, however, been erroneously given to Simon Girty in most published accounts. An inflammatory speech against the Kentuckians made, it is said, on the occasion, is credited to him. We are told that, in order to stir up the minds of young warriors against those settlers, he "took an elevated stand, when he disengaged his arm from his blanket, assuming the attitude of an orator, and to the painted savage assembly, equipped in all the habiliments of war, delivered the following address:

*"Brothers—*The fertile region of Kentucky is the land of cane and clover, spontaneously growing to feed the buffalo, the elk, and the deer: there, the bear and the beaver are always fat—the Indians from all the tribes have had a right, from time immemorial, to hunt and kill, unmolested, these wild animals, and bring off their skins, to purchase for themselves clothing—to buy blankets for their backs and rum to send down their throats, to drive away the cold and rejoice their hearts, after the fatigues of hunting and the toil of war. (Great applause from the crowd.)

"But, brothers, the Long Knives have overrun your country

and usurped your hunting grounds: they have destroyed the cane, trodden down the clover, killed the deer and the buffalo, the bear and the raccoon. The beaver has been chased from his dam and forced to leave the country. (Palpable emotion among the hearers.)

*"Brothers—*The intruders on your lands exult in the success that has crowned their flagitious acts.—They are building cabins and making roads, on the very grounds of the Indian camp and war-path. They are planting fruit trees and plowing the lands where not long since were the cane-brake and clover-fields. Were there a voice in the trees of the forest or articulate sounds in the gurgling waters, every part of this country would call on you to chase away these ruthless invaders, who are laying it waste. Unless you rise in the majesty of your might, and extirminate the whole race, you may bid adieu to the hunting grounds of your fathers—to the delicious flesh of the animals with which it once abounded, and to the skins with which you were once enabled to purchase your clothing and your rum."

Then, we are further informed, that, inflamed to frenzy with this harangue (of Girty), the young warriors expressed their approbation, and evinced their determination to comply with the recommendations of the speaker, by extending outstretched arms toward Kentucky, and by grasping their tomahawks and striking them into the ground with an hideous yell. The old warriors signified their approbation by a loud, sonorous grunt.*

There was a request made immediately after Crawford's retreat from the Sandusky, by Captain Snake, of the Shawanese, to DePeyster, that he would let Captain Caldwell, with his Rangers, remain at Lower Sandusky about ten days, and then

* G. W. Stipp's *Western Miscellany* (Bradford's Notes), pp. 81, 82. Compare Marshall's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, pp. 132, 133. It is hardly necessary to inform the reader that this speech is fictitious. It bears upon its face its own refutation. Besides, the unlettered Simon Girty never did—never could—talk in that manner even in English; whereas, if the speech was made at all, it must have been in the language of one of the Indian tribes.

march to the Shawanese villages on the head-waters of the Mad river.* This request was granted—that officer marching to Wapatomica. In the early part of July, Caldwell, with his white soldiers and three hundred Indians, started eastward, intending, in accordance with the wishes of the savages, to attempt the reduction of the fort at Wheeling. A day or two after his departure, runners came into Wapatomica, who gave information that General Clark was approaching with a train of artillery and a large body of troops. The alarm was wide-spread, and an express was sent after Caldwell, who, with McKee, returned to Wapatomica; but, before turning back, he sent forty warriors with two Frenchmen to watch the frontiers to the eastward, and give intelligence of any movements of the Americans, particularly if there was any expedition in progress.†

Before recording events which took place as the result of Captain Caldwell's countermarch, it may be mentioned that in the border settlements east of the Ohio and around Pittsburgh, the miscarriage of the expedition under Crawford stimulated the borderers to ask General Irvine to organize another on a more extensive scale, the command of which he was to assume in person. He finally commenced operations looking to a compliance with their wishes. But this movement soon reached the ears of DePeyster, at Detroit, who at once dispatched Captain Andrew Bradt with a company of Rangers to reinforce Captain Caldwell at Wapatomica.‡

* Captain Snake to DePeyster, from Upper Sandusky, June 8, 1782.—Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 369, 370. The original of this letter is one of the Haldimand MSS. Its existence was, of course, unknown to Roosevelt when he wrote *The Winning of the West*.

† McKee to DePeyster, from Wapatomica, July 22, 1782.—MS. letter; also, Caldwell to DePeyster, August 26, 1782.—MS. letter: Haldimand Papers. Since the above was written, this last letter has been published in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 402–404. Compare Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 332, 333, as to the march toward Wheeling.

‡ “We have been alarmed here [at Detroit] with the accounts of a formidable body of the enemy under the command of General Hands [Irvine], advancing this way, which occasioned my reinforcing Captain Caldwell.”—DePeyster to Haldimand, August 18, 1782.—Washington-Irvine Corre-

There coming in to Wapatomica what was believed to be a confirmation of the report as to General Clark's movements, the utmost exertions were put forth by McKee to collect all the Indians possible to resist the invader. It was resolved to march south, the determination on part of Caldwell being to meet and fight the enemy near the town (Piqua) which Clark had driven the Shawanese from two years before, which was about forty miles away. The Indians that assembled on the occasion were Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandots, Mingoes, Munceys, Ottawas, and Chippewas. Under Captain Caldwell were Captains McKee and Elliott; the former having the general marshaling and oversight of all the savages, while the latter was, there are reasons for believing, in command only of the Shawanese. In the army were the three Girtys. "We had," wrote McKee, "on this occasion, the greatest body of Indians collected, on an advantageous piece of ground near the Picawee [Piqua] village, that has been assembled in this quarter since the commencement of the war."* "I had," says Caldwell, "eleven hundred Indians on the ground and three hundred more within a day's march."†

Scouts soon returning from the Ohio informed Caldwell

spondence, pp. 373, 374. In current Western histories, Bradt's name is usually (though erroneously) spelled Pratt.

* McKee to DePeyster, August 28, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. This letter, since the above was written, has been published by Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 399-402.

† Caldwell to DePeyster, August 26, 1782, already cited. Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 187, 188) gets excited over this "great army:" "In July the British captains Caldwell and McKee came down from Detroit with a party of rangers, and gathered together a great army of over a thousand Indians—the largest body of either red men or white that was ever mustered west of the Alleghanies during the Revolution." But Caldwell and McKee did not come down from Detroit in July at all. After the battles with Crawford's force on the Sandusky Plains, both went to Wapatomica. That writer has the erroneous idea, too, that Caldwell, in marching toward Wheeling, had his "great army" along. It is also to be inferred from what he says, that Captain McKee had, along with Caldwell, command of the Rangers, which, of course, is wholly wrong. He has no true conception of McKee's military office.

that the accounts he had received as to Clark's marching toward him were false. "This disappointment," declared McKee, "notwithstanding all our endeavors to keep them [the savages] together, occasioned them to disperse, in disgust with each other. The inhabitants of this [the Shawanese] country, who were the most immediately interested in keeping in a body, were the first that broke away; and, although we advanced towards the Ohio with upwards of three hundred Hurons [Wyandots] and Lake Indians, few of the Delawares, Shawanese, or Mingoes followed us."* With the returning Shawanese went James Girty; but Simon and George remained with Caldwell on the march with his Rangers and Indians to the Ohio.

"On our arrival at the Ohio," adds McKee, "we remained still in uncertainty with respect to the enemy's motions; and it was thought best to send scouts to the Falls, and that the main body should advance into the enemy's country and endeavor to lead out a party from some of their forts, by which we might be able to gain some certain intelligence."† "I crossed the Ohio," are the words of Caldwell, "with three hundred Indians and Rangers."‡ The point aimed at was Bryan's Station, located in what is now Fayette county, Kentucky, detached parties having previously penetrated into the settlements.

Captain Caldwell, with his Rangers and two hundred Indians, crossed the Ohio not far below the mouth of Limestone creek (Maysville), probably at the mouth of Eagle creek, seven miles distant. The place of destination was reached on the night of the fifteenth and the station surrounded. On the succeeding morning, the besiegers showed themselves, laying siege, at sun-up, to the fort; but, fortunately, the small garrison were not surprised; they were under arms, intending to march to the aid of a neighboring settlement that had been threatened. Two couriers from the garrison managed to

* From McKee's letter, just quoted.

† Id.

‡ Caldwell to DePeyster.—Letter before cited.

make their way through Caldwell's lines unobserved, and hastened to Lexington with the news of the presence of the enemy.

A reinforcement of thirty men attempted to throw themselves into the fort; a number on horseback succeeded. Those on foot were driven back with the loss of one killed and three wounded. It is said that one of the settlers—a stout, active young fellow—who had come to the assistance of his besieged friends, was so hard pressed by a white man and several savages that he turned and fired, and the white man fell. The latter, it is claimed, was Simon Girty. "It happened, however, that a piece of thick sole-leather was in his shot-pouch at the time, which received the ball and preserved his life, although he was felled to the ground. The savages halted upon his fall and the young man escaped." But this story is undoubtedly fictitious. Who of the Americans knew about Girty's shot-pouch? Besides, he was too much of a boaster to let such an incident pass without afterward relating the facts; and in no instance, so far as can be discovered, did he, in after years, ever refer to any such event.* During all the time of the presence of the enemy around the station, they continued their efforts without cessation.

Just here we must mention a tradition, which is to the effect that, before the close of the day, the garrison was summoned by Girty to surrender. The particulars, as recorded in many Western histories—notably in McClellan's *Sketches of Western Adventure*—are that the day was well nigh ended, and still the efforts of the enemy were unavailing. The Indians had become discouraged. Their loss in the morning's assault was heavy; they had made no impression upon the fort; and, without artillery, Simon Girty, in command, could hope to make none. The chiefs spoke of raising the siege and marching homewards; thereupon it was determined to

* It was in the Kentucky settlements as in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia: a white man seen in battle on the Indian side was almost certain to be set down as Simon Girty by the borderers—as we have seen was the case at the conflict upon the Sandusky Plains between Crawford's force and the Rangers and Indians.

try negotiation—Girty hoping to obtain by a demand what he had failed to secure by arms. He took upon himself to demand the surrender of the station. Near one of the bastions of the fort there was a large stump. To this he crept on his hands and knees, and, mounting it, hailed the garrison. He had approached under cover of a thick growth of hemp—the precise spot where he stood when he began his parley was the site of the “dwelling-house of Mr. Rogers,” in later years. After demanding a surrender, he gave his name, following it by an inquiry as to whether he was known to the people of the fort. He declared—so the story runs—that the people would be protected if they would open the gate; but this would be out of his power if the fort was taken by storm, as it would be that night, on the arrival of his cannon and strong reinforcements, then hourly expected.

The garrison were intimidated. They had listened in silence to Girty's speech; and the mention of artillery awakened in them much dread; as they well remembered the fact that cannon had been brought with the army of invasion under Bird, when Martin's and Ruddle's Stations, two years before, had been captured. But a young man, the story continues, by the name of Aaron Reynolds, highly distinguished for courage, energy, and a frolicsome gayety of temper, perceiving the effect of Girty's speech, took upon himself to reply to it. To Girty's inquiry whether the garrison knew him, Reynolds replied that he was very well known; that he himself had a worthless dog to which he had given the name of “Simon Girty,” in consequence of his striking resemblance to the man of that name; and that, if he had reinforcements, he might bring them up; that if either himself or any of the naked rascals with him, found their way into the fort, they would disdain to use their guns against them, but would drive them out again with switches, of which they had collected a great number for that purpose alone; and, finally, he declared that *they* also expected reinforcements; that the whole country was marching to their assistance; and that, if Girty and his gang of murderers remained twenty-four hours longer be-

fore the fort, their scalps would be found drying in the sun upon the roofs of their cabins.

Girty took great offense at the tone and language of the young Kentuckian, we are assured, and retired with an expression of sorrow for the inevitable destruction which awaited the people in the fort on the following morning. He quickly rejoined his chiefs, and instant preparations were made for raising the siege. The night passed away in uninterrupted tranquillity, and at daylight in the morning the Indian camp was found deserted.

But this account, so circumstantially given by many writers, carries with it its own refutation. It is too much to believe that Captain Caldwell sent, without a flag and in the manner indicated, a person to demand the surrender of the garrison; besides, Simon Girty was not so foolhardy as to creep up under cover to a stump, and then suddenly show himself as a target for the sharpshooters of a Kentucky station. And further, the language imputed to him, speaking of himself as the commander of the besieging force, and asking if the garrison knew him, would have sounded strangely enough in the ears of Caldwell, who must have been, like those inside the stockade, within hearing distance of his speech, if one was made. The fact was, the attack began about sunrise on the sixteenth, and was continued unremittingly, as previously stated, all that day, all the ensuing night, and until ten o'clock in the forenoon of the seventeenth. In all cotemporaneous accounts of the siege, there is no mention of a demand for surrender—a strange omission, had one been made.

During the forenoon of the seventeenth, the force under Captain Caldwell, despairing of the reduction of the station, began their return march in a leisurely manner, having burnt five houses which were a part of the fort, killed upwards of three hundred hogs, one hundred and fifty head of cattle, and a number of sheep, taken a number of horses, and destroyed all the potatoes that could be found, cut down a great deal of the corn growing, burned the hemp in the fields, and done considerable other damage. The loss of the Indians was five

killed and two wounded. Of those defending the fort, there were four killed and three wounded.

The Kentuckians soon gathered in considerable force at Bryan's Station, and determined to pursue the retreating army, having little idea of its numerical strength. The pursuit commenced on the eighteenth, the whole number of the pursuers amounting to one hundred and eighty-two. These were under the command of Colonel John Todd. About eight o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth, the enemy, consisting of about two hundred Indians (one hundred having previously left) and thirty picked Rangers,* was discovered on the Licking river, in what is now Nicholas county, in sight of where the Maysville and Lexington Turnpike crosses that stream, not far north of the Lower Blue Licks. A battle (known in history as that of the Blue Licks) immediately ensued, the result being disastrous to the Kentuckians: not less than seventy were killed, a number badly wounded, and seven made prisoners. The loss of the British was one killed;† of the Indians, ten killed and fourteen wounded.

Throughout all the western settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and especially in Kentucky, Simon Girty was afterward credited with having been the leader of the savages in the battle of the Blue Licks; though some were in the belief that he was only one of the "many white men" who commanded that day.

Beyond the mountains, in Virginia, eastward, the idea of

* DePeyster to Haldimand, September 4, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. "We were," says McKee, "not much superior to them [the Kentuckians] in numbers," which was true. After much tribulation, the author of *The Winning of the West*, in Vol. II, p. 199, figures out that Caldwell's entire force, on the morning of the 19th of August, consisted of "nearly three hundred men in all." The trouble with Roosevelt is, he is lacking in Haldimand MSS., notwithstanding in his Preface he declares he had all he "needed." A knowledge of what is contained in DePeyster's letter to Haldimand of September 4, 1782, would have saved him an erroneous estimate.

† This man was not a "ranger," as Roosevelt declares, but belonged to the British Indian Department, the same as his two companions in arms—Simon and George Girty.

Simon Girty's power in the Ohio wilderness to marshal the savages, and of his prowess in battle, was even more exaggerated than upon the border.

"Never were the lives of so many valuable men lost more shamefully," wrote a Virginian, not long after the battle of the Blue Licks, in criticising those in command on the American side, "than in the late action of the 19th of August; and that not a little through the vain and seditious expressions of a Major McGeary. How much more harm than good can one fool do. Todd and Trigg had capacity, but wanted experience. Boone, Harlan, and Lindsay had experience, but were defective in capacity. Good, however, would it have been had their advice been followed. Logan is a dull, narrow body, from whom nothing clever need be expected. What a figure he exhibited at the head of near 500 men, to reach the field of action six days afterward, and hardly wait to bury the dead, and when it was plain part of the Indians were still in the country. General Clark is in that country, but he has lost the confidence of the people and it is said become a sot; perhaps something worse. The chance is now against General Irvine's succeeding [in the expedition against Sandusky and Detroit, supposed at the date of the writing actually to have marched from Fort Pitt, but which expedition was finally given up], disappointed [as he is] in Clark's co-operation, which he was promised; and, it is said, [he] set out with only 1,200 men. Simon Girty can outnumber him; and, flushed with so many victories, to his natural boldness, he will be confident." *

And from more than a month before that was written to the present day (with few exceptions), Simon Girty has been spoken of, by those who have written of the battle of the Blue Licks (when the leader of the enemy has been mentioned at all), as the master-spirit of that contest of arms;† dividing

* Colonel Arthur Campbell to Colonel Wm. Davies, October 8, 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 337, 338.

† He is so credited in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, pp. 195, 196. A more recent following in the same channel is the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 267, 268.

the honor, however, sometimes, with Captain McKee; at other times, with both Captain Caldwell and the last-named. That he was in the battle is certain; but it is equally certain that he did not have command of the enemy's force—not even of the Indians. There are four official reports extant of the battle of the Blue Licks—two American* and two British;† neither mention his name at all. He had no position except that of interpreter. The same may be said of his brother, George.

Leisurely, after the battle, the victors recrossed the Ohio, Captain Caldwell with his Rangers returning to Wapatomica, going thence to Upper Sandusky, where he arrived on the 24th of September.‡ That officer soon left the Sandusky for Detroit, very ill with intermitting fever.§ The savages made their way to their homes||—George Girty going with the Delawares to the Mad river and Simon with the Wyandots to the Half King's town.

There were now prospects of peace; and, during the last half of August, DePeyster received from Brigadier-General Powell at Niagara a letter directing him to act on the defensive only in all operations in the Ohio country. He immediately dispatched, therefore, an express to Captains Caldwell and Bradt, and one to McKee, ordering them “not to make any incursions into the enemy's country.” “I hope,” said DePeyster, “the courier will be in time to stop Captain Bradt, who is on the point of setting out for the neighborhood of Wheeling, but I fear Captain Caldwell has already passed the

* Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, pp. 275, 333.

† Caldwell to DePeyster, August 26, and McKee to same, August 28, 1782.

‡ Caldwell to DePeyster, September 24, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

§ Dundas to Haldimand, October 6, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

|| Roosevelt, in informing his readers of the savages after the battle, says: “The victorious Indians, glutted with vengeance, recrossed the Ohio and vanished into the northern forests.” He is in ignorance, it seems, as to what became of Caldwell and his Rangers.

Ohio, in order to be satisfied of the enemy's motions, in which case he will strike some strokes before he returns." *

Captain Bradt, with his company of forty Rangers and all the Indians that could be mustered—two hundred and thirty-eight in number—resolved, as mentioned by DePeyster, to march at once against Wheeling, the courier ordering him to act only on the defensive not reaching him in time to prevent his departure; so he proceeded eastward and crossed the Ohio. He laid siege to Fort Henry, but with little success. He reached the vicinity of Wheeling on the 11th of September, and continued around the fort until the morning of the thirteenth, when he and his force disappeared. The garrison had none killed and but one wounded. A small stockade—Rice's fort—was next attacked by the enemy, but they were repulsed with loss of two Indians killed—the besieged losing one of their number shot. Captain Bradt with his Rangers and Indians thereupon recrossed the Ohio, reaching Wapatomica on the twenty-first, with his white troops and a few Delawares. It was the last attempt of the British and Indians in force across the Ohio into the border settlements to the eastward during the war. With the expedition was James Girty, but he had no command.†

The counter-stroke to Caldwell's success at the Blue Licks was the marching of General Clark with over a thousand men against the principal Shawanese town on the Miami river, now Piqua, Miami county, Ohio, and the complete sacking of that

* DePeyster to, Brigadier-General Powell, August 27, 1782.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers.

† Besides local histories of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia, and other Western works, consult, as to this second siege of Wheeling, the Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 312-316, 397. I have before me, giving interesting particulars, McKee to Caldwell, September 2; same to DePeyster, September 23, 1782.—MS. letters, Haldimand Papers. "But its [Wheeling's] most noteworthy siege," says Roosevelt (*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 118, 119), "occurred during the succeeding summer [after 1781], when Simon Girty, with life and drum, led a large band of Indians and Detroit rangers against it, only to be beaten off." But in a foot-note on the same page, he declares he does "not know which of the two brothers Girty was in command."

village and Lorimer's at the portage above, early in November. This was the ending virtually of the Western Border War, so far as Pennsylvania and Virginia were concerned, although, as a matter of fact which will hereafter be noted more particularly, savage incursions did not entirely cease for months afterward.

After the cold weather had set in, Simon Girty was kept actively employed in carrying intelligence from the Sandusky to Detroit and return—visiting the latter place at least twice during the ensuing winter.*

NOTE I.—The relation of the supposed speech of Simon Girty at Wapatomica to be found in the Bradford Notes, loses nothing in the Magazine of American History (Vol. XV, p. 267): "Elated by their victory over Crawford and spurred on by rumors of a peace which would leave the choicest of their hunting-grounds forever in the possession of their enemies, the Indians were eager to make a crowning effort for the recovery of Kentucky, and early in August of this year, 1782, a grand council of the North-western tribes was held at Chillicothe to decide the question of invasion. Simon Girty, who was now one of the most trusted and devoted of the Indian leaders, was the foremost figure at this meeting, and is credited by Bradford with having made the decisive speech of the occasion. . . . To the assembled chiefs his words were the words of Katapacomen, their adopted brother. who was as faithful to them as the panther to her cubs; whose tent-poles had been strung with the scalps of their enemies, whose cunning was that of the fox and whose heart had never failed him in time of battle. In his speech, which aroused the warriors to the highest pitch of excitement, he depicted the ruin the whites were making of their favorite hunting-

* In the Findlay (O.) Courier, published some years since, it is asserted that, "A short time ago, a dirk-knife was found imbedded in the center of a tree on the farm of Alex. Morrison, about three miles north-east of Findlay. On being cleaned, there was found on the blade of the knife, rudely cut, the letters 'S. Girty, 1782.'" This, however, I have not been able to verify.

ground, urged an immediate blow for its recovery, and then with significant flourishes of his tomahawk he closed his impassioned words by a fiery call for the extermination of their enemies, which was answered by a wild and unanimous yell of approval. The council promptly declared for invasion."

NOTE II.—The ubiquity of Simon Girty, as represented by different writers, is remarkable. At the very time that he was "on the wing" in the Mad river country, he was represented as being in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, by one writer, who says: "I had almost forgot informing your excellency that the noted Girty has for some years past threatened the town of Bedford with destruction, in like manner as he has that of Hanna's Town. He has effected his design on the latter, and how soon he may effect a similar destruction on the former I know not." See Bernard Dougherty to Moore, August 19, 1782, in Pennsylvania Archives (Old Series), Vol. IX, p. 620. [Hannastown was burned July 13th.]

It is not enough that fiction has taken Simon Girty as far eastward, after he went to live with the Wyandots, as Hannastown; it has described him as making excursions even to the Susquehanna, as the following indicates: "He [Simon Girty] made frequent incursions from the Wyandotte settlement to the Susquehanna. He is said to have slept during his stay at Halfall Hills in a cave next the river in the end of the mountain. He came here for the purpose of watching the whites at Fort Halifax from the top of this mountain. The narrow channel in the river at the end of Halfall Hills was named 'Girty's Notch.' The traveler is reminded [1872] of his approach to the notch, as he descends the river, by the sign 'Girty's Notch Hotel.'"—Wright's History of Perry county, Pennsylvania, p. 34. This, we believe, is as far toward the sea-board as the wildest speculation has taken the renegade in his marauds.

NOTE III.—Concerning the (supposed) attempt of Simon

Girty to induce the garrison of Bryan's Station to surrender, Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 195, 196, says :

"Girty, who was among the assailants, as a last shift, tried to get the garrison to surrender, assuring them that the Indians were hourly expecting reinforcements, including the artillery brought against Ruddle's and Martin's stations two years previously; and that if forced to batter down the walls no quarter would be given to any one. Among the fort's defenders was young Aaron Reynolds . . . and he now undertook to be spokesman for the rest. Springing up into sight he answered Girty in the tone of rough banter so dear to the backwoodsmen, telling the renegade that he knew him well, and despised him, that the men in the fort feared neither cannon nor reinforcements, and if need be, could drive Girty's tawny followers back from the walls with switches; and he ended by assuring him that the whites, too, were expecting help, for the country was roused, and if the renegade and his followers dared to linger where they were for another twenty-four hours, their scalps would surely be sun-dried on the roofs of the cabins."

Roosevelt (p. 193, note) gives his reasons for not rejecting the account of Girty's demand and of Reynolds's reply. "Of course, his [Reynolds's] exact words, as given by McClung [in his *Sketches of Western Adventure*], are incorrect; but Mr. L. C. Draper informs me that, in his youth, he knew several old men who had been in Bryan's Station and had themselves heard the speech. If it were not for this I should reject it, for the British accounts do not even mention that Girty was along, and do not hint at the incident. It was probably an unauthorized ruse of Girty's." What Roosevelt means by "British accounts" is, "British cotemporaneous accounts;" and he might have said the same of American cotemporaneous accounts; none mention the name of Girty at all. As to the "ruse of Girty," it may be affirmed that he was altogether too intelligent to attempt to shoulder any such responsibility

as the demanding of the surrender of the fort without authority from Captain Caldwell.

As to the declaration of Draper, it will be observed that he does not claim that "several old men" *told him* they had heard the speech; but, suppose such was the fact, how stands the case? These men must have been very aged; for when Draper became acquainted with them, it seems probable he was a "youth" of some twenty-five years. (See *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. V, p. 339.) These old men had possibly read the account of Girty's demand and Reynolds's reply, and had come to believe them as having actually been made. Nothing is more treacherous than the recollections of the aged. The whole story is based upon the fictitious idea that Girty had command of the enemy. Some writers say the parley was in the night. As to the "switches," that would have been nonsense.

In *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky* (pp. 195, 196), currency has been given to the story of the parley between Girty and Reynolds—following the account as usually published. See, also, the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 268.

NOTE IV.—So much credence has been given to the report that Simon Girty commanded the combined force of British and Indians at the Blue Licks, and so interwoven is it in the histories of the West—especially of Kentucky—that an inquiry is proper as to its origin. The first American accounts of the battle, given by writers who took part in the action, evidently had not heard the report.

"In the meantime," wrote Levi Todd to his brother, Robert Todd, on the twenty-sixth of August, "the Indians made a violent attack upon Bryant's Fort [Bryan's Station], and continued it all day and night."—*Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 333 (compare Boone to the Governor of Virginia, August 30, in same, p. 275). The report, however, soon became current; but it coupled, originally, Girty's name with "many other white men," as commander (Logan to Governor Harrison, August 31, 1782, in *Calendar of Virginia*

State Papers, Vol. III, p. 280); showing, conclusively, that it was all guess-work—all imagination. Then it was declared he, alone, led the enemy (Levi Todd to Governor Harrison and Council, September 11, 1782, in Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, p. 300); which declaration has been, more than others, the one to gain the greatest currency. However, the credit, as before intimated, has been sometimes divided between him and Captain McKee (Filson's Narrative of Daniel Boone, of 1784). In one account, Caldwell, Girty and McKee, are all sharers in the honor (Collins's Kentucky, Vol. I, p. 20).

The report is, it is believed, more strongly set forth in the following from the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV (pp. 267, 268), than in any other published account:

"Girty was chosen the leader of the savage army of nearly six hundred warriors, and Bryant's and Lexington stations, which were only five miles apart, were marked as the first in order of destruction. By the middle of the month the dusky horde, after a swift and stealthy march, reached the center of the wilderness now so widely known as 'the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky,' and on the night of the 14th of August silently settled around the famous Bryant's Station, which they had expected would fall at once into their hands through the absence of its usual male defenders. With admirable skill the wily Girty had maneuvered to draw them out to the relief of Hoy's Station, which he had caused to be threatened several days before for that very purpose, and the pioneers, completely deceived by the device, were busy with preparations for a march by sunrise, when he arrived fortunately for them a few hours before their intended departure. The deceiver was himself deceived. Mistaking the bustle and the lights within the fort to mean that his presence had been discovered, Girty ordered a premature attack, which revealed to the unsuspecting and astounded garrison the imminence of its danger and ultimately resulted in the failure of its enemies. The gallant charge of the men of Lexington through the Indian lines and into the beleaguered fort; the heroic exploit of

the women who marched into the jaws of death to get water for the garrison, and the successful defense of Bryant's Station, are now too celebrated in story and in song to need another telling.

"At this siege Girty displayed his usual courage. He led on the Indians when they stormed the palisades, and in a close encounter with a Lexington rifleman barely escaped with his life. His parley with the garrison, however, when he tried to negotiate a surrender, resulted only in his mortification and the taunt of the fearless Reynolds that 'they knew him, and he himself had a worthless dog that looked so much like him, that he called him Simon Girty,' must have convinced the White Indian how greatly he was detested by the pioneers. The alarm had now gone forth, the rescue was sounded and the siege was abandoned. Girty's plan, so admirably conceived, so well conducted and so nearly realized, failed, but in the very face of defeat and while the brave hunters of Kentucky were gathering and marching against him, beset by difficulties but undiscouraged, he formed a scheme still deeper and more dangerous to his foes. He retreated, but it was a subtle and seductive retreat, which lured the small but dauntless band of his pursuers to the fatal hills and deadly ravines of the Blue Licks, where the advice of the sagacious Boone was disregarded, and where, on the 19th of August, 1782, the Indians struck a blow that sent horror and grief to every cabin in the wilderness of Kentucky and invested the name of a barren and rugged spot of earth with a sad and sanguinary immortality. The criminal rashness of McGary, the precipitate crossing of the fatal ford, the unequal struggle, the desperate heroism of the pioneers and the sickening slaughter of the flower of Kentucky's soldiery, constitute one of the most familiar and interesting episodes of Western history."

To this, the following is added: "But the part played in it [battle of the Blue Licks] by the principal actor, Girty, has for some reason been substantially ignored by the writers who have treated the event during the entire century that has

elapsed since its occurrence. The borderers of 1782, exasperated at Estill's defeat, inflamed by the burning of Crawford, and lashed into a fury of mortification and grief over this last and great disaster, were in no mood to admit the ability of the man they hated and despised as a renegade. The disaster was charged entirely to the recklessness of the hot-headed McGary and the odious Girty was treated with silent contempt. The example thus set seems to have been followed by all the Western chroniclers since that day. But, viewing now the cold facts with eyes undimmed by prejudice or passion, it becomes evident that the soldiership of Girty had more to do with the defeat of the gallant pioneers than the rashness of McGary."

As to what has been published heretofore, showing Captain Caldwell to have been in command at the battle, see Haldimand to Carleton, October 10, 1782, in Vermont Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II, p. 304; Albach's Western Annals (1857), p. 395; McBride's Pioneer Biography, Vol. I, p. 208; Roosevelt's The Winning of the West, Vol. II, pp. 191-207, 399-404.

NOTE V.—There has been heretofore a diversity of published statements as to which of the three Girty brothers (Simon, James, and George) was in the expedition to Wheeling in 1782. Knapp, in his History of Ashland County (Ohio), p. 508, says: "Connected with this expedition was the notorious James Girty." Another account is to the effect that George Girty was with the Indians and had command (see An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, p. 276); still another that Simon was *the* Girty who lead the savages; but, as we have shown, the two last named did not leave Captain Caldwell.

"When the attack [on Fort Henry, Wheeling] began, there were but about twenty efficient men to oppose nearly four hundred savages led on by James Girty."—Dr. Geo. W. Hill, in the Ashland (O.) Press, November 26, 1874. This is copied in Beach's Indian Miscellany (see, for the whole ac-

count, pp. 51-64). So far as this relates to James Girty, the statement that he was present is correct, but erroneous as to his having command of the savages. Another error of Dr. Hill, besides making the number of savages too great, is that which makes their determination to assail Wheeling an afterthought: "Arriving at that point [the ruins of the "Moravian" Indian towns on the Tuscarawas] a difference of opinion arose as to the exact destination of the expedition. After some consultation in council, as the expedition to Kentucky was proving successful, it was decided that the Indian army should proceed to and attack the small fort or block-house at what is now the city of Wheeling, West Virginia."

NOTE VI.—General Clark, in marching against the principal Shawanese town on the Miami river, in retaliation for "Blue Licks," left the Ohio river on the 4th of November, 1782, with one thousand and fifty men, reaching the Indian village, now Piqua, Ohio, on the tenth, in the evening, completely surprising its occupants. Every thing the Shawanese possessed was destroyed, except such articles as might be useful to the troops. The British trading post at the portage above—"Lorimer's," but afterward usually written "Loramie's"—shared the same fate. "The loss of the enemy was ten scalps, seven prisoners, and two whites retaken." Clark lost one killed and had one wounded. (See his Official Report, printed in Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 401, 402.)

CHAPTER XXII.

The news of peace between the United States and Great Britain did not reach Fort Pitt until May, 1783, and excursions into the settlements by small war-parties of savages were still carried on. Simon Girty, from the Sandusky, led warriors to Nine-mile Run, within five miles of Pittsburgh, where they took some scalps. This was just at the time when the fact became known at the fort that hostilities had been declared at an end. To commemorate this, Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Bayard, then in command of the post, in the absence of General Irvine, was firing a salute, while the death-dealing work of Girty was going on; the sounds of the cannon being distinctly heard by him.

A lad named John Burkhart was captured. He was asked by Girty the meaning of the firing. The boy told him that there was peace. This the renegade did not believe, so he took his youthful prisoner to Detroit, but DePeyster sent him back in care of a person returning to Pittsburgh.* Young Burkhart was kindly treated by Girty during his journey through the wilderness—another instance of humanity to be passed to his credit. This raid was the last of Girty's incursions during the Revolution against the border of Western Pennsylvania, or into any of the American settlements. He never again visited his native state painted and plumed as a savage, to imbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen. But he remained as interpreter in the employ of the British Indian Department on half-pay—on a “pension” as it was called†—making at first his head-quarters at Detroit, as there was no longer a necessity for his remaining upon the Sandusky, he having been

* Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 418.

† Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, p. 367.

recalled from the Ohio wilderness by DePeyster.* However, before we dismiss him from his sojourn among the Wyandots as interpreter and warrior, attention is properly called to one of the many absurd traditions with which his name is associated—this time in connection with that of Samuel Brady, who had been captured, according to the relation, by the Indians :

“Brady was taken [a prisoner] to the Sandusky villages,” so the story goes, “and as he was, and had been for years, the most noted and feared white man, there was great rejoicing amongst the Indians at his capture, and great preparations and parade were made for torturing him. Runners were sent to all the neighboring Indians, with the news that Brady was a prisoner, and every Indian that got the news was there on the day set for his execution. A very large body of Indians, old and young, were collected together.

“Brady said that when he was first taken to Sandusky, there was something in one of the chiefs which struck him very forcibly. He soon became satisfied that he had somewhere seen him before. And after close observation and examination, he became satisfied that this person was Simon Girty, the boy who was brought up with him as a brother. He took the first opportunity he could get to say to him that he knew him as Simon Girty. He told him who he was, and related transactions that took place when they were boys and that he could not possibly have forgotten. For some time Girty refused to know him, or even to understand a word of English; but at last he owned himself as Simon Girty. He was at this time a noted chief amongst the Indians, and was noted as being the most savage amongst the savages.

“Another tradition of Girty was, that Brady and he were

* “The great struggle in which the savages had been so actively engaged was now over, and Girty, resigning for a season the ambitions of military life, betook himself again to his old desultory occupations of trader, hunter, and interpreter.”—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 269. But the change was simply this: he dropped for the time all warlike endeavors against his countrymen, simply continuing his occupation as interpreter. That he was never a trader will more fully appear in a subsequent chapter.

young together and intimate acquaintances and associates; that Girty was at one time a leader in the excursions against the Indians, but for some reason he left the whites, joined with and became a celebrated and savage chief amongst the Indians.

"Brady plead with Girty at first to assist him to escape; that he could do it without the fear of detection; that from their early associations and friendship, he was bound to do it. He used and urged by every reason and argument he could think of to induce him to do so, but without effect. Girty would have but little conversation with him, and refused to assist him in the least.

"As the time for Brady's execution drew nigh, he begged of Girty to furnish him with the means to take his own life and escape the tortures preparing for him, but all without effect. The time for his execution arrived; the fires were lighted, and the excitement among the Indians became intense. Their pow-wows had commenced, and the circle around him was drawing closer, and he began sensibly to feel the effects of the fire. The withes which confined his arms and legs were getting loose by the effects of the fire, and he soon found he could at any time free himself from them. He watched his opportunity, when, in the excitement of the scene, a fine looking squaw—a squaw of one of the chiefs—ventured a little too near him for her own safety and entirely within his reach. He, by one powerful exertion, cleared himself from every thing by which he had been confined, caught the squaw by the head and shoulders and threw her on the top of the burning pile, and in the confusion that followed made his escape." *

At Detroit, in July, 1783, DePeyster gathered together the chiefs of eleven Indian nations, comprehending all the tribes as far south as the Wabash and the Great Miami. At this council the services of Simon Girty as interpreter were brought into requisition. Colonel DePeyster informed the savages

* See the letter of Frederick Wadsworth in tract No. 29, published by the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, December, 1875.

that peace was at hand and counseled them to bury the hatchet. He then praised them for their valor, and dismissed them with presents.

After five years of residence among the Indians, Simon Girty now left (so far as actual and continuous living was concerned) the wilderness and its dusky occupants, never to return. When making his home with the Mingoes and Wyandots, he did not become, as many have supposed, one of these people, adopting their style of dress, falling in with all their habits, hunting with them, and going with them to their councils at Detroit as an Indian—he was never considered by these people as one of their number. It is safe to say that from August, 1778, to August, 1783, not much more than half his time was spent with these savages. He was constantly “on the wing”—“flying about,” as the British reports of that period so frequently affirm—now in the wilderness, now at Detroit. At the close of the Revolution, he was not so much enamored of Indian life as his brother James, and the latter was not so much charmed with it as their brother George.

Late in August, 1783, Simon Girty was visited at Detroit by his brother Thomas and his half-brother, John Turner. The truth was that, at the close of the Revolution, both the last-named were somewhat dissatisfied with the turn affairs had taken. Neither had the cause of his country deeply at heart. During the war, both had been suspected of tory proclivities, and there is a tradition current that during the early days of that conflict, Turner had actually been arrested, but nothing was proven against him and he was discharged. The object of their journey, which will now be explained, shows that their patriotism was not, at the date of their visit, of a genuine character. “Three men,” wrote DePeyster, on the ninth of October, to Brigadier-General Maclean, from Detroit, “are lately arrived from Redstone creek [now Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania]. They [that is, two of them—Thomas Girty and John Turner] are brothers to our interpreters, the Girtys, and [one, Nathaniel McCarty, to] a McCarty lately killed. The sole intent of their journey

is, to see what encouragement they will meet [with] if they settle under the British government, [they] assuring me also that several hundred will be glad to come off, as they see nothing but persecution preparing for such as were not hearty in the American cause." *

But the mission of the visitors to Detroit was a failure—why, it is not known positively, although the fact that the persecutions which were expected did not follow in their cases, doubtless had something to do with it. Both Thomas Girty and John Turner remained in their own country and became loyal and good citizens.

In the fall, the different Western tribes in British interest were again assembled in council; this time at Sandusky, and by Sir John Johnson, then Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. He made a powerful appeal to the Indians to stand up for their rights as against the Americans, counseling them to take up the hatchet again rather than yield to the latter the possession of their lands. Simon Girty was also present at this gathering, acting as interpreter.

The next year [1784], being one unusually free from Indian assemblages, gave Simon Girty time to turn his thoughts upon a subject of a wholly different character from that which had heretofore burdened his mind. In short, he resolved to marry. But the object of his affections was much younger than himself and a prisoner among the Indians. How much genuine love there was on either side, in the affair, is the merest conjecture. She who was to become his wife was Catharine Malott, who, it will be remembered, was captured upon the Ohio river in 1780 †—a girl then in her teens, but now grown to womanhood. To her, a savage life was more terrible than death—she would even marry Girty would he

* MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. That the visitors were "lately arrived from Redstone creek," implies (at least so far as Girty and Turner were concerned) that they were *lastly* from there, where they had been, probably, to get a list of such as might desire to change their habitations. The three gave to DePeyster the names of twenty-three persons besides themselves, all of whom, save two, had families. A copy of the list is before me.

† Ante, p. 116.

devise some means for her escape from captivity rather than remain with the Indians—this is doubtless the correct view to take of the matter. And Girty, who had made her acquaintance in the Indian country, was not slow in planning for her release, making a trip for that express purpose to the tribe where she was living; for the maiden was “fair to look upon;” and, in her old age, it is said, her comeliness did not forsake her.

It was in August, 1784, that Girty, on his way out of the wilderness, having in charge the one who was soon to become his wife, reached the mouth of the Detroit river. Here, on the Canada side of that stream, they were soon after married; and here they at once took up their abode, at a point less than two miles below the present Amherstburg, Essex county.* In the vicinity, a settlement had already been commenced.

“I take the opportunity of Commodore Grant’s going to Quebec,” wrote the then lieutenant-governor of Detroit to the governor of Canada, to inclose to your excellency a list of the names of those who claim Indian lands in the vicinity of this place, from grants recorded in the recorder’s office and as I understand by the knowledge of the commanding officers here since the year 1780, by which it will appear your excellency’s orders to me to discountenance such proceedings, is something too late to have any effect, as almost all the land between the Lakes Erie and Huron on both sides the strait [Detroit river] is claimed, and a great part settled upon and improved. If it is your excellency’s pleasure this should be stopped nothing but your excellency’s public and positive orders will effect it. As Lieut.-Governor Hamilton knows most of the claimants, he can inform your excellency many of them are very unworthy any indulgence in that way.

“I have consulted Mr. McKee upon the most probable method of obtaining a tract for the Crown to be distributed

* In *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, p. 198, it is erroneously stated, in effect, that, in 1795, Girty settled just below Malden and married there. The date was 1784.

as your excellency may think proper, and he is of opinion with me, that a strip of two or three leagues deep on the strait between the Lakes Erie and Huron may easily be obtained, but that a greater quantity might give umbrage to the nations on the lakes. He likewise tells me the purchase which has been made at Niagara has not been made known to the lake Indians, and it is more than probable they will not be pleased with the boundaries extending so far up Lake Erie.

"I am informed several of the reduced provincial officers and many of the soldiers wish to settle on the south side of Detroit rather than any-where else. Several have built upon and improved lands who have no other pretension than the [lake] Indians' consent to possession; Captains Bird and Caldwell are of the number, at a place that they have called Fredericksburg [Amherstburgh]; besides all which, there are some concessions of lots in the town of which I have not yet got a full account."*

It was less than a month after this letter was written that Simon Girty determined to locate on a site chosen by him immediately after his marriage, which tract was washed along its western boundary by the Detroit river, he having, however, at the time no other right "than the [lake] Indians' consent to possession;" the same that was relied upon by Captains Bird and Caldwell.†

* Jehu Hay to General Haldimand, July 22, 1784.—MS. letter, Haldimand Papers. "During the same season [1784], a settlement was made . . . at Amherstburg [Malden] by the Loyalists."—Canniff's *History of Canada*, p. 182.

† "Here [at Fort Malden, in 1796] he [Simon Girty] found many warriors of his own tribe preparing to settle on lands granted them as allies of the crown."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 273. By "his own tribe" is here meant the Wyandots; but no lands, at this period, were granted the Detroit Wyandots, "as allies of the crown," so far as I have been able to learn, at or near Fort Malden; and certainly none became the property of the Sandusky Wyandots. Hay's letter of 1784, when Girty really settled near what was afterward Fort Malden, speaks of the best method, it will be noticed, of obtaining a tract *for the crown from the Indians*—not *for the Indians from the crown*.

NOTE I.—“Girty was now [after the battle of the Blue Licks] by far the most prominent and influential leader among the Ohio Indians, and was dreaming of still greater military achievements, when fortunately for the distressed and weakened pioneers his career as a soldier was checked for a while by the close of the War of Independence, but not before he had, according to Bradford, made a narrow escape from the swiftly moving forces of George Rogers Clarke, ‘the Napoleon of the West,’ who pursued him to the valley of the Miami. The autumn, so dreaded by Boone, instead of bringing Indians, brought the glad tidings of the cessation of hostilities, an event which crushed all the hopes of the savages of ever recovering Kentucky—hopes which seemed just after their great victory at the Blue Licks to be on the very verge of a glorious realization. Girty learned with disgust of the return of peace while at the head of an Indian force operating about Fort Pitt, and the news, strange to say, was first made known to him by the salutes of rejoicing fired from the very fort that he had shamelessly abandoned and whose downfall he had so confidently predicted.”—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 269.

It is error to declare (1) that Simon Girty, after the battle of the Blue Licks, was by far the most prominent and influential leader among the Ohio Indians; (2) that he was dreaming of still greater military achievements [than at the Blue Licks]; and (3) that afterward he made a narrow escape from “Clarke,” who pursued him to the valley of the Miami.

Again: That the savages north of the Ohio, after the battle of the Blue Licks, had hopes, which then seemed to be just on the verge of realization, of recovering Kentucky, is an unwarranted statement. And it may be added that Simon Girty was never a soldier during the Revolution in Fort Pitt (except in the first half of 1775 as a Virginia partisan under Major Connolly, who called it Fort Dunmore); he never, therefore, shamelessly abandoned it; and never confidently predicted its downfall, so far as the writer of this narrative has been able to discover.

NOTE II.—It has only been within late years that any thing has appeared in print as to the marriage of Simon Girty.

“Catherine Malott, the oldest daughter of the family, was in her fifteenth year at the time of the capture [of the Malotts already mentioned in this narrative] and was carried to one of the Shawnee [Delaware] towns on Mad river [it was on the Scioto]. Simon Girty seems to have come across her on one of his circuits among the various Indian towns, and fell violently in love with her. This was about three years after her capture, and while her mother was known by Girty to be in Detroit for the purpose of collecting her family from captivity. Indeed, it is probable that Girty had been employed by Mrs. Malott to trace up, if possible, her lost children. [This about Mrs. Malott is error.] However this may be, he found Catherine now grown and very pretty, and adopted into an Indian family [of the Muncey tribe or clan of Delawares]. They refused to give the girl up; but, on Girty’s promising to bring her back after she had seen her mother in Detroit, he succeeded in getting Catherine away.”—McKnight’s *Our Western Border*, p. 423.

The following is a more recent account; nevertheless, as will be seen, it contains mistakes. Miss Malott was never a resident of Detroit, and was not, as we have already shown, captured by the Shawanese:

“It was during the, to him [Simon Girty], monotonous calm of the first year after the war, 1783, that he secured a white wife by marrying Catharine Malotte, a young lady about half as old as himself, and reputed to have been at that time the beauty of Detroit. There is an air of romance even about his marriage. His wife, like himself, had been a victim of a border tragedy and a prisoner among the Indians. A party of settlers, including her own family, while descending the Ohio in a flat-boat, seeking new homes in the wilds of Kentucky, were fired into by a band of Shawanese, who seized the boat, killed several of the party, and carried into a miserable captivity all the survivors, including the then young girl, Catharine Malotte. She was released through the interposition of Girty.

Gratitude paved the way for love, and when her deliverer returned from the war as the victor of the Blue Licks, she turned away from her red-coated and more civilized admirers of the British post [Detroit] and accepted their strange and notorious white savage confederate."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 269, 270.

NOTE III.—That Simon Girty, immediately after his marriage, took up his residence in Canada, below Amherstburg, is fully established. He was frequently in Detroit afterward, which has led some writers to assert that he lived there; but this is error. His determination to settle where he did was due to the fact that he could be a resident of Canada, and at the same time secure to himself, as he believed, a valuable tract of land; and also because it was a very accessible point for him (still engaged, as he was, in the British Indian Department), with Detroit on one side and the Ohio Indians on the other, the close relations of these savages with his department not having been particularly interrupted by the establishing of peace. The *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 273, not only gives the wrong date for his settling in Canada (1796), but adds: "As this society (about Malden), Indians, refugees and British, was the most home-like Girty could expect to find, the soil fertile, the region sufficiently wild and abounding with game, and no war promising immediate excitement, he settled with his family on a piece of land at the head of Lake Erie and about a mile and a half below Malden."

CHAPTER XXIII.

The acknowledging by Great Britain of the independence of the United States of America, could it have been immediately followed by the yielding possession to the latter of the military posts of the former in the West, would have brought at once to terms the various Indian nations therein located, and the loss of the fur trade to the English would have been the result. But possession was withheld; and it was of vital importance to that traffic that the different tribes should continue to occupy their hunting-grounds north-west of the Ohio. To stir up an animosity, or, rather, to keep alive the war spirit engendered in the late conflict, was the policy of the traders. And the emissaries of Great Britain were not slow, as we have already shown, in urging the Indians to stand up for what they told them were their rights.

It was aid (first covert and then open) given the savages by the English, which finally brought on between them and the Americans actual war. A powerful agent in its instigation was Simon Girty.* He is now suddenly brought forward as a leading character for mischief to the United States. For the next ten years, nearly, he stands forth, as will be shown, a prominent figure in the West. To him much is to be charged in bringing about the discomfiture of one of our armies and the loss of another. And yet, until quite recently, so little had been recorded of his career during this period, that what had found its way into the current histories of the West was only to the effect that, some years after his marriage, he was comparatively quiet, attending to the affairs of his growing family, and largely occupied in trading with the Indians.

Troops raised under resolutions of Congress of the 3d of June, 1784, were embodied in what was known as the First

* Journal of Capt. Jonathan Heart, p. 72.

American Regiment, in command of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar.* It was determined to hold a treaty with the Western Indians at Pittsburgh, and messages were sent into the Indian country beyond the Ohio, inviting the various tribes to meet at that place. The troops (Harmar's) raised in Pennsylvania were ordered to march there; and by the last of October two detachments had arrived out. The United States Commissioners to hold the treaty were Arthur Lee, Richard Butler, and George Rogers Clark. They did not meet in Pittsburgh until the 5th of December, when, because of the season being so far advanced, and for other reasons, it was determined to hold the treaty at Fort McIntosh. There the troops immediately marched, where chiefs of the Wyandots, Chippewas, Delawares, and Ottawas, together with the three government Commissioners just named, were afterward assembled; and there, early in January, 1785, a treaty was held and articles duly signed.

Could the Wyandots and Delawares, after the treaty of Fort McIntosh, have been left to themselves—could they have followed out (without the fur trader and the British agent interfering) the dictates of their own better judgments, a good understanding would doubtless have continued between them and the Americans. The result of that treaty was already having its effect upon the Shawanese on the Mad river and to the westward, notwithstanding they were not represented at the meeting with the United States Commissioners, for it was soon manifest that they too were desirous to treat with the Americans; but just then came the British fur traders from Detroit, first to the Wyandots and Delawares upon the Sandusky and then to the other tribes, sounding the note of alarm that peace only meant the driving of the nations from their homes and their hunting-grounds. And Simon Girty also followed with his harangues, which were far more potent for mischief than were the declarations of the traders. Thus was the seed of disaffection sown among the Ohio Indians just

* Journal of Capt. Jonathan Heart, p. 86, note 2.

at the time when the American government was using every effort to treat with the various tribes and bring about a permanent understanding with them.

It was one of the articles of the Fort McIntosh treaty that "three chiefs, one from among the Wyandot and two from among the Delaware nations," should "be delivered up to the Commissioners of the United States, to be by them retained till all the prisoners, white and black, taken by the said Indians, or any of them," should be restored.

Simon Girty was now wholly under the direction of McKee—as completely so as he had been in the Revolution under that of Hamilton, of Lernoult, or of DePeyster. His general movements in the Indian country—in the Ohio wilderness—were all at the bidding of his old-time friend, still agent in the British Indian Department. He did not go among the savages after peace between the United States and Great Britain had been proclaimed, to live with them, but as a British emissary, to counsel them as dictated to him by McKee, and, in the end, as we shall hereafter see, to go to war with them, as circumstances might best require.

On the first day of June, 1785, Colonel Harmar, in command at Fort McIntosh, wrote the Secretary of War of the United States as follows (which, it will be seen, is confirmatory of the statement as to the evil effects produced by the wiles of the fur traders and Girty):

"The Wyandot and Delaware nations have brought in their prisoners (fifteen in number), agreeably to treaty, and the hostages left in my possession are now dismissed. These nations are friendly, and I believe wish to cultivate a good understanding with the Americans. The Shawanese make great professions of peace, and are desirous of a treaty being held with them. The Cherokees are hostile, and have killed and scalped seven people near the mouth of the Scioto, about three hundred and seventy miles from hence.

"Speeches have been continually sent by the British from Detroit to the Indians since the treaty, and I have good intelligence that several traders have been amongst them,

using all means to make them entertain a bad opinion of the Americans. One Simon Girty, I am informed, has been to Sandusky for that purpose. I have taken every means in my power to counteract their proceedings, and have directed the Indians not to listen to their lies, but to tie and bring in here any of those villains who spread reports among them injurious to the United States, in order that they may be punished."*

Of the regularly authorized agents of the British, it is highly probable that Girty was the very first one to revisit the Ohio wilderness, to awaken in the minds of the savages animosities against the United States. And he played well his part, as the sequel shows.

The General Government resolved to hold a conference with the Western Indians at the mouth of the Great Miami, and messengers were dispatched to the various tribes inviting them to the meeting. But, since the treaty at Fort McIntosh in the previous January, stirring events had transpired in the wilderness west. The intrigues of Girty and the fur traders with the Wyandots and Delawares, before mentioned, awakened the slumbering war-spirit of some of the braves of these tribes; and now, for the first time, savage aggressions, wholly independent of Great Britain, though stimulated by her agents, took place; five or six people at the mouth of the Hockhocking river falling victims during the summer to the tomahawk and scalping-knife. And, at the Tuscarawas, these aggressions were afterward repeated. Indeed, at the

* St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, pp. 6, 7. See also *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. VII, p. 417, where the same is given, with a number of sentences omitted; but what is given follows the original closer than the other. Compare, in this connection, *Heintz's Journal*, pp. 71-73. *The Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 270, says: "The Indians at this time, 1785, and for years after, were constantly aggravated by the encroachment of the whites upon their North-western lands, and certainly Girty did his best to fan the increasing flame, which finally resulted in Harmar's campaign of 1790." The accuracy of this statement as to "encroachments," in 1785, of the whites upon the North-western lands of the Indians is doubtful. The Indians in interest had acknowledged the paramount rights of the United States to all lands "encroached upon" by the whites during that year.

very time—that is, in the latter part of September, 1785, and in the early days of October following—when Richard Butler, one of the Commissioners of the United States, was passing down the Ohio, on his way to the mouth of the Great Miami, to the treaty to be there held, a council had convened, near the Delaware village of New Coshocton, three miles north of the present site of Bellefontaine, in Logan county, Ohio, at which were chiefs of the Delawares, Wyandots, Shawanese, Mingoes, Cherokees, Pottawattamies, Kickapoos, and Miamis, with belts and speeches from the Weatenons, Ottawas, Chippewas, and the Fox nations, to form an alliance against the Americans. Simon Girty, also, had no sooner heard of the intended treaty at the mouth of the Miami than he hastened, along with William Caldwell, from Detroit to the Sandusky, to use his utmost endeavors to prevent the Delawares and Wyandots from attending the conference.* Thence, Girty passed on to the Shawanese, employing every means in his power to stop those Indians also from going.†

Richard Butler, United States Commissioner, with Captain Walter Finney and his company of infantry, from Fort McIntosh did not reach the mouth of the Great Miami until the twenty-second of October. Two days after, a place on the north side of the Ohio, just above the junction of the two rivers, was fixed upon as a proper one to be occupied while holding the treaty, and orders were immediately issued to clear it of trees. The same day, George Rogers Clark, another of the government Commissioners, arrived, and on the twenty-fifth, Captain Finney “began to lay out and clear the ground for four block-houses and quadrangular work, which was pushed on with great alacrity by himself and officers.” To this post was given the name of Fort Finney. By the arrival,

* For the fact that Girty and Captain Caldwell, “of the British Rangers,” were at the Delaware and Wyandot towns in October, 1785, persuading the Indians not to go to the treaty at the Big Miami, see McCormick’s Statement, in *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 11, note; and Leith’s Statement, in same, p. 683.

† Taylor’s *Ohio*, p. 450.

on the thirteenth of November, of Samuel H. Parsons, the Board of Commissioners was filled and the business of treating with the savages was ready to be entered upon; however, but few Indians had arrived. Suffice it to say that it was late in January, 1786, before articles had been agreed upon, and when signed (which was on the first day of February), only the Shawanese of the Indian nations were subscribers, along with the United States Commissioners. This treaty is known in history as the Treaty of Fort Finney.

By article sixth of this compact, the United States granted to the Shawanese "lands within their territory to live and hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the Great Miami, which falls into the Ohio, intersects the said line; then down the river Miami to the fork of that river next below the old fort which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence due west to the River de la Panse; then down that river to the river Wabash;" beyond which lines none of the citizens of the United States were to settle or disturb that nation in its settlements and possessions. These Indians relinquished to the United States all title or pretense of title they ever had to the lands east, west, and south of the east, west, and south lines before described.

It may be said that the same policy was pursued toward the Shawanese in this treaty as was pursued toward the Wyandots and Delawares in the one at Fort McIntosh the year before; that is, both were based upon the opinion of Congress that the treaty of peace of 1783 with Great Britain absolutely invested the government with the fee of all the Indian lands within the limits of the United States, and that they had the right to assign or retain such portions as they should judge proper. Enough information was obtained at Fort Finney by the United States Commissioners to make it certain that the chief cause of the disturbance in the West by the Indians was owing to the wiles of men (like Simon Girty)

kept in employ by the British Indian agent, and to some traders who wished to monopolize the peltry trade. These designing parties had much the advantage of the Americans. They were constantly among the Indian nations, and there had been no counteracting influence brought directly to bear by the United States.

It was in the previous April, that the settlement near the mouth of the Scioto river was, as mentioned by Harmar, broken up by the Cherokees. These Indians continued their hostilities. The close of the war with Great Britain and the calling in of the Indian braves by that power had little or no effect upon these bands, who inhabited a few villages in various parts of the North-west. They were not satisfied to wreak their vengeance upon emigrants who had crossed over to the north side of the Ohio, but carried their forays into Kentucky and what is the present West Virginia.

And now the Wabash Indians, as they had not come forward to the treaty at Fort Finney, joined these hostiles in their attacks upon the Americans. Their incursions became so galling that the Governor of Virginia, on the 16th of May, 1786, brought the subject to the attention of Congress. By this time, the Shawanese, also, in open disregard of their treaty stipulations, showed, unmistakably, their warlike intentions; for already had Simon Girty and other emissaries from Detroit reached that tribe upon the head-waters of the Great Miami, and, to a considerable extent, counteracted the policy determined upon at their late conference with the United States Commissioners. But the principal work for mischief was done by Matthew Elliott, who had taken up his residence with the Indians last mentioned, at one of their villages.

To the letter sent by the Virginia governor to Congress, that body, on the thirtieth of June, replied that they were desirous of giving the most ample protection in their power to the citizens of the United States, and that they had directed their commandant (Colonel Harmar) on the Ohio, to detach two companies of infantry to the rapids of that river (Louisville). They requested the governor to give orders to the

militia of Kentucky to hold themselves in readiness to unite with the federal troops in such operations as the commanding officer of the latter might judge necessary to protect the frontiers. This proved, in the end, a declaration of war against the Western Indians, though not so intended by Congress at the time; for "an Indian war," wrote the Secretary of War to Colonel Harmar, "disagreeable at all times, would be peculiarly distressing in the present embarrassed state of the public finances; therefore, it must be avoided if possibly consistent with the interest and dignity of the United States." "The emissaries," he continued, "who are stimulated by the British officers or their agents, will be industrious to urge the Indians to open hostilities; it will be your duty to counteract them; and I shall flatter myself that you will be effectually able to accomplish it." But the sequel will show how futile were his efforts against these "emissaries."

Simon Girty, by the first of June, had returned from the Shawanese towns to the Sandusky, along with McKee and Elliott, and some Shawanese, when the principal chiefs of the Wyandots were persuaded to go along with them to a treaty to be held at Niagara by Sir John Johnson, who had invited them and the Six Nations to be present on that occasion. The three emissaries just named, with forty Indians, among whom were three Wyandot chiefs and one each of the Ottawas and Chippewas, living upon the lower waters of the Maumee, sailed from Lower Sandusky, on the seventh, under Commodore Grant, giving out that they (McKee, Elliott, and Girty) were going to Quebec to purchase lands on the north side of the lake (Erie) from the Indians. This was only a pretense to cover the knowledge of their going to meet Sir John, which these Indians were desirous should be kept from the Americans, they being, ostensibly, at peace with the latter, and constantly affirming that they desired to so remain.*

* Col. Josiah Harmar to Brig.-Gen. Knox, July 3, 1786, in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. VII, pp. 419, 420. However, to obtain lands was really one of the objects in view in the three going to Niagara.

Besides, as Great Britain, too, was at peace with the United States, it would not do to make public the fact that the Superintendent-General of British Indian Affairs in America had presumed to invite a nation living upon the soil of the United States to a treaty in Canada.

At Niagara, Johnson told the Indians they would be no people in a short time if they did not unite. They should all be one people; and what they did, either to make war or peace, would then be of some avail. Of course, the savages well understood this to be directed against the United States; and a much larger assemblage, in the following December, brought together by Thayendanegea (Captain Brant), in Canada, set forth effectively the same policy.

At the Niagara gathering, Simon Girty, McKee, and Eliott obtained the promise of certain lands in Canada, on the east side of the Detroit river, as a reward for their services during the Revolution. Girty, having previously obtained, as we have already seen, at least a tacit consent from the Lake Indians to a tract, was already living upon it;* and it was here that his daughter, Ann, was born, late in the fall of 1786. A child born in the first half of the previous year had died in infancy.

Encouraged by the presence of so many Indians from the country south of Lake Erie, in the summer, at Niagara, another council was planned by Sir John Johnson, to be held in Canada, at the Huron (Wyandot) village, on the Detroit river, in hopes to bring together a large representation of the tribes living within the limits of the United States north-west of the Ohio, where the same policy could be urged more effectively of uniting the Western nations, in opposition to the United States acquiring the Indian lands, as had been done in the previous treaties held with them. Captain Brant, of the Mohawks in Canada, was put forward to guide the movement. To this end, he visited the Sandusky. Representatives from some of the Six Nations—from the (Hurons) Wyandots, Ottawas, Miamis, Shawanese, Chippewas, Cherokees, Delawares,

* The exact locality will hereafter be described.

Pottawattamies, and Wabash nations—assembled at the appointed place, and, on the 18th of December, 1786; agreed upon a message to Congress, the tone of which was pacific—provided the United States made no encroachments upon their lands beyond the Ohio. It was but the reflex of what had been said by Johnson at Niagara, and was, to the United States, a grand deception; no chief put his sign-manual to the document; but, in lieu thereof, as a cunningly devised scheme, appeared the names of each nation, with the proper emblems following them.

The address did not reach Congress until the next July, when action was taken upon it, hereafter to be mentioned. At this council, Simon Girty was extremely active, along with McKee and Elliott, in stirring up the minds of the savages against the Americans. Many other emissaries and some fur-traders, from Detroit, were present to fan the flame of discontent. In their message, the Indians proposed a council with the Americans, at some half-way place, the ensuing spring, and they recommended to the United States that, in the meantime, their surveyors and other people be prevented from crossing the Ohio.

NOTE I.—During the year 1785, many families went down the Ohio river in boats, landed at Limestone (now Maysville), and continued their route to such parts of Kentucky as pleased them. Among them was Thomas Marshall, who had embarked with a numerous family on board a flat-boat, and descended the Ohio without any incident of note until he passed the mouth of the Great Kanawha, when, about ten o'clock at night (so we have the relation), he was hailed from the northern shore of the river by a man who announced himself as James Girty, the brother of Simon. The boat dropped slowly down within one hundred and fifty yards of the shore, and the man made a corresponding movement along the beach. The conference was kept up for several minutes.

After the person on shore had given his name, he inquired

as to that of the master of the boat. When told it was Marshall, he said he knew him (Marshall) well and respected him highly. He had been posted there, he said, by order of his brother, Simon, to warn all boats of the danger of permitting themselves to be decoyed ashore. The Indians, he said, had become jealous of his brother, who had lost the influence which he formerly held amongst them, and now deeply regretted the injury he had inflicted upon his countrymen, and wished to be restored to their society. Simon, in order to convince the Americans of the sincerity of his regard, had directed him to warn all boats of the snares spread for them. Every effort would be made to draw passengers ashore. White men would appear upon the bank, and children would be heard to supplicate for mercy. "But," continued the man, "do you keep the middle of the river and steel your heart against every mournful application you may receive." Marshall thanked him for his intelligence, and continued his journey.

He who is responsible for publishing this story adds: "From this it would appear that [Simon] Girty's situation was by no means enviable. The superior intelligence which had first given him influence, gradually attracted envy. Combinations were probably formed against him, as they are in civilized life, against every man who is guilty of the unpardonable offense of mounting rapidly above his fellows. Ambition, jealousy, intrigue, combinations for particular objects, prevail as strongly among savages as among civilized beings, and spring in each from the same source—a tender, passionate, inordinate love of self—a passion the most universal, deeply rooted, and infinitely diversified in its operations of any in existence—a passion as strong and easily offended in the degraded Hotentot as in the Emperor Napoleon, in the superannuated old woman as in the blooming belle—the only human passion which age can not tame or misery extinguish, or experience cure, or philosophy expel; which flutters as strongly in the jaws of death as in the vigor of life, and is as buoyant and ridiculous in the breast of the philosopher, as in that of a vil-

lage beauty. Nothing more was ever heard of Girty's wish to be restored to his station in society; but his warning, by whatever motive dictated, was of service to many families."

As to the foregoing tradition, it is only necessary to say, that if such a conversation with Marshall as is therein related actually took place, the man claiming to be James Girty was an imposter, for at that time James was, it may be premised, quietly trading with the Indians at his establishment, where is now located St. Marys, Ohio. (For this relation concerning Thomas Marshall, see McClung's *Sketches of Western Adventure*, pp. 195-197.) The subsequent history of Simon Girty, as given in this and the following chapters, shows the fallacy of the story of his "deeply regretting the injury he had inflicted upon his countrymen," and of his wishing "to be restored to their society." Whether his influence with the savages was on the wane will also presently appear.

The *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 270, has this to say concerning the account:

"About two years after his marriage, 1785, Girty did an act of kindness, as singular as it was unexpected, and the motive for which has never been clearly explained. According to Colonel Thomas Marshall, he posted his brother, James Girty, who was himself a thorough savage, on the northern bank of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Kanawha, to warn immigrants traveling by boat of the danger of being decoyed ashore by the Indians. McClung says that this timely notice was of service to many families, and that those who did not heed it suffered. It is asserted that Girty did this to curry favor with the Americans, and to help pave the way for his return to the people he had abandoned, but nothing has been produced to support this opinion. His conduct otherwise did not indicate it."

As to James Girty being at this time "a thorough savage," it may be remarked, that his employment did not indicate it. He had a cruel and savage nature, it is true, but he had by no means given himself up to the simple and lazy life of an In-

dian, living upon scanty food like the red men, hunting as they did, dressing like them, or depending upon gifts from the British, or obtaining the necessities of life by selling skins to traders. He was himself a trader, and a thrifty one, as will hereafter be shown. It may be mentioned that Marshall did not assert that the man who hailed him was *in fact* James Girty—only that he announced himself as such. It can not be affirmed then, as a verity, that, “according to Colonel Thomas Marshall, he [Simon] posted his brother, James Girty,” on the northern bank of the Ohio, to give warning to emigrants. And if, as stated by McClung, “this timely notice was of service to many families,” its effectiveness in no-wise depended upon the one hailing being actually the person he represented himself to be, but upon the *claim* that he was James Girty.

NOTE II.—The depredations of the Wabash Indians, in the summer of 1786, into Kentucky were so frequent and deplorable that George Rogers Clark commanded an expedition against them, which proved “a shameful failure.” Not so, a campaign under Benjamin Logan against the Shawanese upon the Mad river. With five hundred Kentuckians, he “burned eight towns, laid waste many hundreds of corn-fields, killed twenty braves, and, with eighty prisoners, hastened back to Kentucky.” (Compare McMaster’s History of the People of the United States, Vol. I, pp. 385–388, and the authorities there cited; also other current Western histories, local and general.) The Cherokees, also, it may be said, met their deserts.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the first half of the year 1787, Simon Girty was frequently at Detroit, going there from his home in Canada. On one of these visits, he was called upon by James Moore, a young American, to assist him in obtaining from another American, but a loyalist, his sister, whom the latter had purchased from a Shawanese Indian. Moore had himself been a captive; and, before giving the result of his application to Girty for help, it will be interesting to learn the particulars of the young man's captivity, which began the 4th of September, 1784, in App's Valley, Virginia. He was then in the fourteenth year of his age. His father had sent him to a waste plantation, about two miles and a quarter away, to get a horse to go to mill. He had reached a point within a short distance of the horses, when he was suddenly confronted by Indians, one of whom took him prisoner. There were three of the savages. They were Shawanese from the upper waters of the Mad river, in what is now Logan county, Ohio. He was captured by the leader of the band, Black Wolf by name. It was about one o'clock in the afternoon, and in a few minutes the Indians started with the boy on their return down the north fork of Sandy river.

After about twenty-two days' traveling, Wapatomica (still a Shawanese town) was reached. They had crossed the Ohio between the mouths of Guyandotte and Big Sandy, on a raft made of dry logs tied together with grapevines. They lay one day on the Scioto, where the Indians made pictures on the trees of three warriors and their prisoner. The boy was not taken directly to Wapatomica, but to the residence of the Black Wolf's half-sister, some distance away, to whom he was sold for an old gray horse.

In about two weeks after young Moore had been sold, he was sent, in company with the half-brother of the squaw who

had purchased him and others, on a winter's hunting excursion. They were very unsuccessful. The sufferings of the boy from hunger and cold were very great, as he had scarcely any clothing. The snow was knee deep, and his blanket too short to cover him. Often, in lying down and drawing his feet up to get them under the blanket, he would get so benumbed that he could not without considerable exertion get his limbs stretched out again. At his return from hunting, in the spring of 1785, he was given up to Matthew Elliott, who acted as trader among the Shawanese and as British emissary. But the old woman who had purchased him, finding it out, got very angry, threatened Elliott, and got him back. Young Moore was then living at Pigeontown, not far from the present West Liberty, Ohio. He was frequently at the Shawanese Indian town of Mac-a-cheek, where, some time in April, there was held a large dance. This dance young Moore was permitted to attend, in company with the Indian to whom he belonged. He there met with a French trader, who took a fancy to him on account of his having a resemblance to one of his sons. The Frenchman purchased him for fifty dollars in brooches and other trinkets, and took him to Detroit. He was treated by his purchaser with great kindness, living with him until October, 1789, the latter ever ready to give him up whenever any chance might present itself for his return to his friends.

While living with Baptiste Ariome, his generous protector, the boy always ate at his table and slept in a good feather bed with his son. In him and his wife he met with a father and mother indeed. Sometimes he went with Ariome to trade with the Indians in the Ohio country. While on one of these expeditions, young Moore heard from a Shawanese with whom he had become acquainted while living at the Mad river towns, of the destruction by the savages of a part of his father's family and the captivity of the balance, the relator being one of the party on that occasion. The event occurred, he was told, in July, 1786, and the circumstance was related to him not long after. In the winter following—that is, early in the

year 1787, he learned that a sister of his was living with a white family some distance from Detroit. She had been purchased by a man named Stockwell,* an American loyalist, from the Shawanese. He got the information from Stockwell himself, by whom he was told that he intended in the spring to move to Frenchtown, below Detroit. As soon as the young man learned that Stockwell had taken up his residence there, he went to see his sister—Mary by name, generally called Polly by the family. He found her in a most abject condition, almost naked, clothed in a few dirty rags, an object of pity indeed. Her owner was, of course, unfriendly to the Americans—a refugee from his countrymen—"in short," Moore declared, "a man of bad character and an unfeeling wretch." "It is impossible," he says, "for me to detail my feelings; sorrow and joy were combined: and I suppose her feelings on that occasion were similar to my own." Having found his sister in so disagreeable a situation, he was advised to apply to the commanding officer at Detroit, informing him of her treatment, in order to effect, if possible, her release. But, before reciting the particulars of his exertions in that direction and the result, and of the part taken by Simon Girty to aid him, it will not be amiss to recount briefly the disasters which had befallen the young man's family, and concerning which he had now obtained from his sister a much fuller account than from his Indian acquaintance.

James Moore (father of young James, whose captivity has just been narrated), his wife, Martha, and their children, John, Jane, Mary, and Margaret, were living in App's Valley on the 14th of July, 1786, when the disaster overtook them we are now about to relate. Another one of the family, Joseph by name, was away from home, at the time, attending school, while James, the second son, was, as before related, at

* "My father was well acquainted with Simon Girty, with Elliott, McKee, Caldwell, Stockwell, Hazle, the Lytles, and all the other renegades in Canada West; but there was very little of the *entente cordiale* between him and them."—MS. letter of William Walker, March 21, 1872, from Wyandotte City, Kansas.

that date living at Detroit with the good Baptiste Ariome. A party of Shawanese had come up Sandy river, crossed over to the head of Clinch, passed near where Tazewell Court-House was afterward erected, murdered a Mr. Davidson and wife and burned their dwelling, and then passed on to App's Valley hastily, before any alarm could be given, and lay in ambush for the Moore family. The savages numbered about thirty. James Moore, the father, was shot dead, while the mother, with her four children, John, Jane, Mary, and Margaret (an infant) were captured. In a short time the Indians were on their march to the Shawanese towns, in what is now the State of Ohio, with their prisoners and plunder. The son, John, was soon tomahawked, and on the third day the infant's head was dashed against a tree by one of the savages, and its lifeless body, without a word, tossed into the bushes! Upon reaching the Scioto, Mrs. Moore and her two remaining children were shown the hieroglyphics upon some trees which represented her son, James, and his captors, mention of which has before been made. The mother was informed that he was still in captivity. The prisoners were then taken to Wapatomica and Mack-a-cheek, where they were well treated by the Shawanese. This was in August, 1786.

After a few days, a council was called to discuss matters appertaining to the attitude of the nation against the Government of the United States. The aged chief, Moluntha, made a long speech dissuading the Shawanese from war; but the warriors shook their heads and retired. This chief was killed soon after by one of Colonel Benjamin Logan's men, in the expedition of the Kentuckians before spoken of, to the Shawanese towns on Mad river. Mary Moore was taken by the old chief to his wigwam, and treated by him with great kindness; his actions clearly evincing that he commiserated her condition. But the mother and sister were soon tortured at the stake by some Cherokees while the Shawanese were on a drunken frolic. Their sufferings were prolonged—their agony, what words can picture! After Logan's expedition, the Indians, because of the destruction of their pro-

visions, and winter setting in, sought aid from Detroit. Of those who journeyed thither, one was the Indian with whom lived Mary Moore. Her sufferings on the road were terrible. Arrived at their destination, the Indians gave themselves up to drinking; and, to indulge their appetites, sold their captives, among whom was Mary, who was purchased by Stockwell for half a gallon of rum. The latter, as we have already seen, took her to his home, some distance away, and made a servant of her, furnishing her with very little clothing and compelling her to eat the most scanty fare. Upon the moving of Stockwell to Frenchtown, her brother, James, was gratified to meet her there, grieved, however, at her cruel treatment, as we have seen.

Young Moore, some time during his captivity, or while living with Baptiste Ariome, had made the acquaintance of Simon Girty. To him the young Virginian applied for assistance in releasing his sister from the slavish bondage in which she was held by Stockwell. Girty interested himself in the boy's behalf, and the two laid the matter before Alexander McKee, who was still the deputy Indian agent of the British for Detroit and its dependencies. McKee had Stockwell brought to trial for ill-treatment of the girl, but her brother failed, for the time, notwithstanding the aid given him by Girty, in having her released from the service of her master; however, it was decided that, when an opportunity should present itself for the return home of both brother and sister, the latter should be given her liberty. This event subsequently occurred, and both reached their friends in Virginia without accident.*

Simon Girty was employed during the year 1787 sometimes at his home attending to domestic matters, but oftener at Detroit or in the Indian country south, to do the bidding of the Detroit commandant, but particularly of McKee.

As no reply had been received from Congress to the address

* For an "account of the captivity and destruction of the Moore family by the Indians," see Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*, pp. 489-494; also, Foote's *Sketches of Virginia* (1850), pp. 506-524.

sent the previous fall by the Indians assembled at the Wyandot village, Canada, but was expected early in the autumn of 1787, a number of nations gathered at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, awaiting its arrival. Brant was present at the Maumee council; so, also, was McKee, at whose instigation Simon Girty had visited the Sandusky Indians and persuaded both the Wyandots and Delawares to take part in its proceedings. The Indians sent forward a request that any message from the United States should be forwarded to them at that place, which was at the principal crossing of the Maumee river, on the south side thereof; but, as none came, the Indians there concluded to send another address, and to meet again at the same place the next year for the purpose of considering the answer.

The resolution of the savages upon the Maumee to meet again upon that river in the ensuing year (1788) becoming known to Richard Butler, the superintendent of Indian affairs, he resolved to use every exertion in his power to produce at least a division in their councils, if he could do no better; so a trusted trader was sent to the point of the proposed gathering, where some of the Indians had already arrived. Singularly enough, one of the messengers dispatched from Pittsburgh to the Sandusky by Butler, to gather information, was Thomas Girty, Simon's brother.* The loyalty of Thomas to his country, although, as we have seen, of a doubtful character at the close of the Revolution, was now to be depended upon. But the brothers did not meet in the wilderness, for Simon, at that time, was at his home in Canada.

It was soon developed that the Wyandots upon the Sandusky and near Detroit were anxious to have the meeting at the Wyandot village on that river; for these Indians could then exert a powerful influence in favor of peaceful measures, which they were inclined to, with the United States. But the arrival at that village, in August, of Captain Brant, turned

* "[Thomas] Girty and some other persons brought alarming accounts from Sandusky."—General Richard Butler to St. Clair, July 1, 1788.—*St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 47.

the scale in favor of the Maumee river as a place of meeting, where he attended with a number of Mohawks and a few others of the Five Nations.

The Western tribes represented at the council were the Wyandots (of Sandusky and Detroit), Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatammies, and Delawares; also the Shawanese, Miamis, and Kickapoos, and some of the Sacs. At this gathering was McKee, who sent full reports of the proceedings to his superiors.

More time had been spent by Simon Girty since the beginning of 1788, to this time, at his Canadian home, than during all of 1787. Notwithstanding this, he was active in his endeavors to obey the behests of the Detroit commandant and Deputy Indian Agent McKee. He was several times sent into the Ohio wilderness; and finally (as during the year previous), to the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, to the Indian conference, at or near the site of the present Perrysburgh, Ohio. Girty's wife remained at their place on the east side of the Detroit river, where, in the summer, a son was born, and named Thomas, after its uncle living at Pittsburgh.

Governor Arthur St. Clair, of the North-west Territory, and Indian Agent Richard Butler, had, previous to the meeting of the Indians on the Maumee, sent invitations to the various nations to meet at the falls of the Muskingum, at a place afterward known as Duncan's Falls, near the present Taylorsville, Muskingum county, Ohio, to hold a treaty. The point fixed upon was about seventy miles up that river from its mouth, at the head of boat navigation. The place of meeting was afterward changed to Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum.

The result of the conference on the Maumee was that the Indians resolved to go to the treaty to be held at Fort Harmar; but, on their way to that post, they met a message from Governor St. Clair, which asserted positively that the obligations of former treaties must be carried out. This caused Brant, with his Mohawks and the others of the Five Nations with him, to turn back; as he now saw, positively, that, as between war and the Ohio river being made the boundary of

the Indian lands, the United States would choose the former. With him returned not only those Delawares who now resided upon the Maumee, but the Shawanese, Miamis, and Kickapoos—the very tribes that St. Clair was most anxious to treat with, but which, in fact, he did not much expect to see.

Although, at the council held by the savages at the Maumee, Simon Girty played but a subordinate part, it was an effective one. No white man so readily entered into fellowship with many of the chiefs there assembled as he. His acquaintance with individual members of the various tribes was much extended. He spoke with many of them in their own tongue. He was recognized now more than ever as the true friend of the Indian. Still, the peace party gave him the cold shoulder. He was the mouth-piece for McKee and powerfully aided Brant. Whatever were their counsels were his. In the meetings he was a most prominent figure, but a silent one; his work was prosecuted outside the council-house. While at this gathering, he aided in obtaining the freedom of an American woman held as a prisoner by one of the Indians attending the conference. It was as creditable to his magnanimity as were his efforts on behalf of Mary Moore, and much more speedy in its results. The particulars of her captivity and its termination are interesting.

In the latter part of June, 1785, a small party of Indians reached a branch of the West Fork of the Monongahela, in what is now West Virginia, on a marauding expedition. Here resided an enterprising settler by the name of Edward Cunningham. A brother, named Thomas, lived in a house almost adjoining. At the time spoken of, Edward and his family were in one cabin, and the wife of Thomas, with her four children (her husband having gone east on a trading expedition), was in the other. Both families were eating their dinner, when they were attacked by the savages. The result was the killing of the four children and the capturing of Mrs. Thomas Cunningham, while the family of Edward made a successful defense in their house, keeping the Indians at bay until, fear-

ing a longer stay, the savages beat a retreat, carrying with them their prisoner.

Mrs. Cunningham suffered untold mental and physical agonies on her march to the Indian towns across the Ohio. For ten days her only nourishment was the head of a wild turkey and a few paw-paws. She remained over three years with the savages, and finally was brought by them to the council at the Maumee last mentioned, where she saw Simon Girty, to whom she appealed for aid in getting released from the Indians. He told her at first that she was better off there than at home, but her importunities were continued, when he declared, in a jocular manner, that his saddle-bags were too small to conceal her. Mrs. Cunningham persevered, imploring on her knees for his help to get her away from the savages. His stubborn heart finally relented, and he brought the matter to the notice of McKee, who furnished him with some Indian trinkets, and he secured her ransom. She reached her home, finally, in safety.*

No sooner had the council upon the Maumee broken up and the Indians departed for Fort Harmar, than McKee and Girty returned to Detroit, the latter soon proceeding to his home across the Detroit river, where he remained during the winter.

It was plain to be seen that a war-cloud in the western horizon was rising; and, all around, there were portents of a coming storm. By no one were the signs welcomed with more delight than Simon Girty. He had been all along really for war, though counseling peace could the Americans be kept from crossing the Ohio, which he very well knew was impossible; and he was especially certain that war was not far off, after the return to the Huron village, on their way home, of the Mohawks led by Brant—upon the latter informing him, as he had already done the Detroit commandant and McKee, of St. Clair's ultimatum.

It was not until the middle of December, 1788, that a suf-

* McKnight's *Our Western Border*, pp. 714, 715.

ficient number of Indians had arrived at Fort Harmar to justify St. Clair in attempting a treaty. The representatives of the Six Nations (other than the Mohawks) came down the Ohio, notwithstanding Brant, as early as the eighth of July, had written from the mouth of Buffalo creek to Butler, American Indian agent, that "we [the Five Nations] are preparing to meet your council, and shall be able to write you from the Miami river [the Maumee*] what time you may expect to see us;"—as though *he* was to lead them to the treaty and by way of Detroit and the Maumee—a pure deception on his part. From the great Indian conference came only representatives of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawattamie, and Sac nations. To the demand made by these Indians for the Ohio river to be declared the boundary line, St. Clair, of course, refused to listen.

The business was concluded on the 9th of January, 1789, and two separate treaties entered into: the first with the Six Nations (excepting the Mohawks); the second with the residue of the Indians. The first confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix of October, 1784; the second confirmed and bettered the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. It can hardly be said that the treaties of Fort Harmar recognized the Indians as having a title in fee to the lands claimed by them, although in both it is declared they did "release, quit-claim, relinquish, and cede" all that they had before granted by previous treaties. It was scarcely yet saying to them "you are the absolute owners of certain lands which we, the United States, are desirous to purchase of you, and for which we will pay you whatever sum can be agreed upon, or whatever amount we, the United States, think you are entitled to." But, had they said so, and had words of that import been incorporated in the treaties, it would not have changed the aspect of affairs in the least as to those Indians who did not

* The Maumee river was usually spoken of at that date as the "Omees" or "Omi," sometimes as the "Miami," or "Miami of Lake Erie," often as "Miami of the Lakes," again as the "Ottawa," frequently abridged to "Tawa."

attend at Fort Harmar. Of these, one part was for war without regard to any boundary; while the other was for the Ohio river as a boundary, or for war if that could not be agreed upon.

NOTE.—By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, of October 22, 1784, with the Six Nations, the latter ceded their claim to all territory north-west of the Ohio. By the treaty of Fort McIntosh, concluded January 21, 1785, the Wyandots and Delawares agreed to limit themselves to the west side of a line drawn from what is now Cleveland to the Tuscarawas, and to the north side of one drawn thence to the Great Miami river—through nearly the center of the present State of Ohio. What territory was yielded by the Shawanese at Fort Finney, February 1, 1786, has already been stated. It was, therefore, a captious right which the other Western nations insisted upon, of claiming the Ohio as the boundary between the United States and the Indians, begotten only from a desire to have an excuse to bring on a war with the Americans. There had been no encroachments upon “Indian lands” either by individuals or by any of the states or the general government; for there were now no such “lands,” speaking in general terms, in the south half of what are now the States of Ohio and Indiana, to be encroached upon. But Great Britain determined to use every means to induce the savages to repudiate the treaties held with the United States—to insist that the Ohio must be fixed upon as the boundary line between the two, and to go to war rather than yield the point.

CHAPTER XXV.

The year 1789 was one of comparative inactivity for Simon Girty. One reason for this was that the Wyandots, Chipewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, and a part of the Delawares with whom he was the most intimate, and over whom he had the most influence, had formed, before the treaty at Fort Harmar, a confederation in order to uphold peace with the United States by all the means in their power. Because of this, and the death of the Half King of the Wyandots in the summer of 1788, he was received at the Maumee conference not with the unbounded favor he had expected, although his influence with the "war faction" was great; and after the council broke up, and he had returned to Detroit, there was still rankling in his mind considerable feeling against "the peace party" for their determined peace talk, and this feeling he could not divest himself of so long as their actions toward the United States were of a friendly character, which was the case throughout the year. So far, then, as Indian affairs were concerned, he had much less to do than usual. There were no councils of importance held by the tribes near Detroit. But tradition, with her busy tongue, has made him, of course erroneously, an active participant during the year in some of the cruel raids of the Indians across the Ohio into what was then the State of Virginia.

"Mr. John Van Meter," says one of these accounts, "at one time, lived in this fort [Van Meter's, on the south side of Short creek, a few miles above its junction with the Ohio river, in Ohio county, Virginia], and at the period of the occurrence narrated, resided on the farm now owned by Alexander Walker, Esq., in the immediate neighborhood of the fort. It was during his occupancy of this farm, in 1789, that a party of Indians visited his peaceful domicile, murdered his wife, daughter, and two small sons, taking the three elder sons

prisoners, and burning the house. Hannah, the daughter who was killed, was washing at a spring a short distance from the house; she had on a sun-bonnet and was stooping over the tub, unconscious of danger, when one of the savages stealthily advanced, and, supposing her to be an old woman, buried his tomahawk in her head. When the Indians saw her face and perceived that she was young and beautiful, they deeply lamented their precipitancy, saying, 'she would have made a pretty squaw.' This information was subsequently communicated by the notorious Simon Girty, who was one of the party which committed the murders."*

There is a tradition, seemingly well authenticated, that some time during the autumn of 1789, Girty was visited at his home upon the east side of the Detroit river, by his half-brother, John Turner, from Pittsburgh. The whole matter was kept from the neighbors and friends of the latter, as he did not care to incur the odium of having paid a visit to one who was so thoroughly detested by all Americans—to one whose very name was still a terror to the whole country around. The object of his journey is unknown; but it was probably undertaken to close up some business affairs. There is extant a receipt, which adds to the credibility of the story. It is as follows:

"Received 2d January, 1790, of James McKee, Esquire, the sum of eighteen pounds two shillings Pennsylvania currency, being in full of an order drawn by me on said Jas. McKee and accepted by him in favor of my brother John Girty, alias Turner.

HIS

"SIMON + GIRTY.

MARK

"Witness—I. SELBY,
M. ELLIOTT."†

Early in 1790, measures were taken to conciliate the Wabash Indians and those at the head of the Maumee, but all

* Doddridge's Notes (Revised Ed.), p. 308.

† For a copy of this receipt, I am indebted to Isaac Craig, of Alleghany, Pennsylvania. At an early day, Turner was often called "Girty."

efforts in that direction proved unavailing; and it was decided that they must be brought to terms by force of arms. General Harmar, with militia from Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, and his own regulars, would march against the Miamis, where Ft. Wayne, Indiana, now stands, while a force under Major J. F. Hamtramck was to move against the savages upon the Wabash. Harmar's force amounted to nearly fourteen hundred and fifty men. His army was well under way by the 3d of October, from Fort Washington—Cincinnati. During the previous months, Girty had been active.

The Indians, in 1790, had seven villages, it seems, clustering about the junction of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph, which form, as is well known, the Maumee. These were, first, the Miami village, which lay in the forks of the St. Joseph and Maumee; second, a village of thirty houses, also of the Miamis, called Kekionga, in the fork of the St. Mary's and Maumee; third, Chillicothe, down the Maumee, on its north bank, of fifty-eight houses; opposite this was another of the same tribe (Miami) of eighteen houses. The Delawares had two villages on the St. Mary's, about three miles from its mouth and opposite each other, with forty-five houses together; while a third one, of thirty-six houses, was on the east side of the St. Joseph, two or three miles from its mouth.

The Miami villages were reached by Harmar on the seventeenth, and found deserted. After the destruction of every thing that could be of use to the Indians, the army began its return march, not, however, until a detachment, meeting the savages, had suffered severely from them. Soon after this, another and larger detachment, under Hardin, met with a still worse fate.* The expedition proved a defeat rather than

* "The very name of the White Indian [Simon Girty] seemed an omen of evil to the pioneers, for it was at 'Girty's Town,' now St. Mary's, Ohio, that Hardin was defeated in this campaign [that of Harmar, in 1790]."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 270. This connecting *Simon Girty* with "Girty's Town" is error; so, too, placing the defeat of Hardin at that point.

a victory. Major Hamtramck was more successful. He laid waste several deserted villages, and returned to Vincennes, Indiana, unmolested.

"The military expedition," says a recent writer, "of General Harmar, in 1790, against the hostile Indians in the north-west, was the first one organized after civil government was established in the 'territory north-west of the river Ohio.' General Harmar who was appointed the previous year, was at that time commander-in-chief of the Western Military Department. The relations between the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio river, and the frontier settlers, were those simply of intensified hostility. The Indians had undoubtedly assumed their threatening attitude toward the western frontiersmen through the instigation of the British agents in the north-west—notably of Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott. And the infamous renegade, Simon Girty, was conspicuously pre-eminent, in rendering such services, as he could, favorable to the interests of England, and which would be as detrimental as possible to the north-west, and to Kentucky, to whose settlement by the white race he determined to interpose all possible obstacles. It may be premised, however, that Girty's movements in this direction were dictated more by his ingrained and long-cherished hatred of the western pioneers, than by any affectionate regard he had for British interests." *

While it is true that Simon Girty, at this period, had no love for "the western pioneers," still, his hatred did by no means stop at that point; there was a general antagonism in his heart against all his countrymen who were not loyalists, with a very few exceptions. It does not seem that he, at this date, was particularly opposed to the settlement of Kentucky by the whites. He had already seen how absurd such opposition was; and, along with McKee and Elliott, as carrying out the policy of the British government, he was, it may be stated, advocating among the Indians the necessity of keeping the

* Isaac Smucker, in *Ohio Statistics*, 1880, p. 14.

hated Americans, as much as possible, from settling on the *Indian* side of the Ohio, not on the *south* side.

The marching of General Harmar against the Indians of the Maumee, and of Major Hamtramck against those of the Wabash, as the result of the hostile attitude of those savages, induced the calling at once of a grand council by the Indians at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee. The object was to take into consideration the propriety of the nations all uniting against the Americans. McKee attended the conference and put forth active exertions to fan the hostile spirit of the red-men into a flame. He summoned Simon Girty from his home in Canada. Immediately "great quantities of provisions, ammunition, and other necessities were sent to the Maumee to supply the Indians," all under Girty's charge and that of "some other persons from the garrison of Detroit."* Nothing was left undone by the Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs and the commandant, at that post, in their power to do, to help the savages, short of sending actual reinforcements of British soldiers to the Maumee.

Girty took part in the deliberations of the chiefs who were assembled at the Maumee. His voice was for sending speeches to all the nations far and near to assemble at that point in the early spring to combat the forces which would be sent against them. Before the council broke up, a general war was determined upon, to the great delight of all the British agents and traders there assembled, and to none more so than Girty, whose advice as to sending war-belts to the nations was adopted. A deputation was appointed to go to Quebec to confer with Lord Dorchester. Active measures were not postponed until the coming spring on the part of the Indians. Already the chilling blasts of winter were felt at the north. A campaign, but not on a large scale, was proposed by Girty against some one of the forts or stations north of the Ohio, to be carried on notwithstanding the inclement weather. He

* Col. Thomas Proctor's Journal, in Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 598.

would lead the force himself. The proposition was favorably received and soon acted upon. It was now December, 1790.

And here it is proper for a moment to digress somewhat in our narrative. About this period, Baker's Station, located not far below Grave creek, on the Virginia side of the Ohio, was "attacked by about three hundred Indians," so the tradition runs, "with Simon Girty at their head." This was another instance of mistaken identity. Girty never crossed the Ohio to the eastward or southward—either into Virginia, Pennsylvania, or Kentucky—during the Indian war which followed the Revolution. The account goes on to say: "The whites had sufficient warning of their approach to enter the fort, and were prepared for its defense. When the Indians advanced along the hill-side (near the base of which the fort stood), Simon Girty called out to those in the fort to turn out and surrender. The voice of Girty was recognized by some of the men, who answered him by curses, telling him, if they did not leave before morning (this being between sundown and dark), they would come out and drive them from the country. The Indians, however, fired upon the fort, and perceiving that their shots would not take effect from their present position, they proceeded further up the hill, in order the more easily to discover those in the fort. From this position, they engaged the fort all the next day and part of the next night. But the whites concealed themselves under cover of the walls so securely that no one sustained any injury. The Indians finding their efforts to be vain, abandoned the attack, and went off without effecting their purpose."*

In 1790, John Dunlap, who had been one of John Cleves Symmes's confidential surveyors, formed a settlement on the east side of the Great Miami river, at a point eight miles from where the town of Hamilton now is, and seventeen miles from Cincinnati: "The county of Hamilton," says a writer in 1791, "lies between the two Miami rivers. Just below the mouth of the Little Miami, is a garrison called Fort Miami ;

* Communication of A. B. Tomlinson, in *American Pioneer*, Vol. II, pp. 352, 353.

at a small distance below this garrison, is the town of Columbia. About six miles from Columbia, is the town of Cincinnati, which is the county-seat of Hamilton [county]; and here is erected Fort Washington, the head-quarters of the Federal army. This fort is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Ohio river. Seven miles below this, is a settlement of eighteen or twenty families called South Bend. About seven miles from this, also on the Ohio river, is the City of Miami founded by the Hon. John Cleves Symmes. Twelve miles up the Great Miami is the settlement called Dunlap's Station; and twelve miles up the Little Miami, is a settlement called Covalt's Station. The number of militia in these places, according to the best accounts I have received are, at Columbia, two hundred; Cincinnati, one hundred and fifty; South Bend, twenty; City of Miami, eighty; Dunlap's, fifteen; and at Covalt's, twenty."*

The settlers at Dunlap's erected a fortification for their security, consisting of several block-houses built of logs and a number of cabins, with pickets in the unoccupied spaces between them, in the form of a square, inclosing a little more than an acre of ground. This situation was considerably exposed, and Indians were frequently hovering about. The consequence was that, in the early part of the winter of 1790-1791, General Harmar sent them a detachment of soldiers for their protection, from Fort Washington, consisting of a lieutenant—Jacob Kingsbury—and eighteen privates.

On the night of the 7th of January, 1791, four men were encamped on the river bank just above the settlement. They had been out exploring the country on the west side of the Miami, and were wholly unsuspecting that danger was near. The next morning, they had not proceeded more than a hundred yards from their camp, when they were attacked by savages, who fired a volley of eight or ten guns. One of the men was killed; one made prisoner, whose name was Abner Hunt; the other two escaped (one badly wounded), and finally

* Dr. W. Goforth, from Ft. Washington, N. W. Territory, September 8, 1791. See Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 200.

reached the station (Dunlap's), apprising the garrison of the presence of the Indians in the vicinity. The next day, a party of six men went out, found the dead man, buried the body, and returned to the fort. The utmost vigilance was exercised by the officer in command, during that day and the next. There were in the inclosure, besides Lieutenant Kingsbury, "thirty-five men total, old and young, sick and well, in such bad works;" also quite a number of women and children. The commander fully realized the peril he was in, so far in the country, with so small a force, and he did not, for a moment, relax his watchfulness. It was this unusual caution, as we shall soon see, that saved the station.

Simon Girty, who had, as we have shown, solicited the command of a war party, went on to the Miami towns at the head of the Maumee, with the Indians who lived there and in the vicinity, soon after the breaking up of the council at the Rapids, and immediately organized a force to march toward the infant settlements on the north side of the Ohio. Their destination was Dunlap's, the first that could be reached after crossing over to the upper waters of the Great Miami, and then descending that stream. They numbered nearly three hundred.

Girty sent a few warriors in advance of the main force to reconnoitre the situation. It was this party that attacked the four men on the morning of the eighth of January, making prisoner of Abner Hunt. These savages returned leisurely up the river with their captive securely bound. Girty, on his downward march, was soon met and the whole proceeded toward the station, arriving in its immediate vicinity in the evening of the ninth, undiscovered. Before sunrise the next morning, Girty and his Indians suddenly made their appearance, firing a volley as they approached the fortification, which wounded one of the soldiers. The commander inside the stockade immediately posted his men to the best advantage, and the fire was returned.

The investment of the works was soon made complete, and the attack was kept up during the entire day. Attempts

were made by the savages to fire the cabins and pickets, but these were foiled by the vigilance and activity of those within. During the night, the enemy shot blazing arrows against the stockade and upon the roofs of the buildings, but these efforts were every-where thwarted by the coolness and bravery of the regulars and settlers. Before morning two of the besieged managed to silently pass out of the station, cross the river, and hasten toward Cincinnati, to obtain aid from General Harmar, at Fort Washington. On their way they met a force marching rapidly to the relief of the place from Columbia and Cincinnati, alarm having been given by some hunters who had heard the firing at the fort when it first began, and had rightfully concluded it was attacked by savages. Between ten and eleven o'clock, the relief party arrived at the top of the hills overlooking the plain on which the station was located, when it was discovered that the Indians had raised the siege and were gone. Such, in brief, was the attack on Dunlap's Station, during which, it must be admitted the enemy evinced under the leadership of Girty, who had with him his brother George, a determination to succeed that nothing but the presence of regulars and the coolness of their commander could have withstood. But there was one circumstance (which is now to be related) which is but an accumulation of positive evidence of the savagery of Simon at this period.

The unfortunate prisoner, Abner Hunt, was brought back by the Indians to the vicinity of the station, accompanied by the party that had captured him, and, soon after the attack commenced, was placed on a stump within speaking distance of the garrison and compelled by Girty to urge a surrender, which, in hope of saving his own life, he did in the most pressing terms, promising that, if it were done, life and property would be spared. As he carried a flag, the garrison ceased firing and listened as best they could to his enforced plea, but determined not to yield. His failure doomed the unfortunate prisoner to the stake. He was tortured with the most shocking barbarity during the night of the siege. "The

Indians tied him to a sapling within sight of the garrison, who distinctly heard his screams, and built a large fire so near as to scorch him, inflicting the most acute pain; then, as his flesh, from the action of the fire and the frequent application of live coals, became less sensible, they made deep incisions in his limbs, as if to renew his sensibility of pain. They answered his cries for water, to allay the extreme thirst caused by burning, by fresh tortures. Finally, when, exhausted and fainting, [and] death seemed approaching to release the wretched prisoner, they terminated his sufferings by applying flaming brands to his naked bowels."

"They stripped him naked," says William Wiseman, who was inside the fort, "pinioning his outstretched hands and feet to the earth, kindling a fire on his naked abdomen, and thus, in lingering tortures, they allowed him to die. His screams of agony were ringing in our ears during the remainder of the night, becoming gradually weaker and weaker till toward daylight, when they ceased." *

"During the night," is the language of Samuel Hahn, who was also of the garrison, "and at a late hour, finding that they could do nothing with us, they brought up Hunt, within a short distance of the fort, for the purpose of burning him alive. Accordingly, having stripped and fastened him to a log, they kindled a fire of dead limbs upon his belly, and commenced a horrid dance, whooping and yelling around the wretched object of their revenge. The screams of Hunt were plainly heard by the garrison, in the midst of these yells, for a long time, growing fainter as life expired." †

* Cist's *Cincinnati* in 1859, p. 95.

† Id., p. 106. Many western writers have heretofore not been well informed as to Hunt's death. "In February, 1791," says the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 270, "at the head of a large force of savages, he [Simon] Girty attacked and besieged Dunlap's Station, on the Great Miami, but he failed as he did at Bryant's, after trying by every device of skill and terror to induce the brave and determined garrison to surrender. It was at this place that Abner Hunt met his death, but exactly how will probably never be known. O. M. Spencer, who was captured by the Indians about this time, and while he was yet a child, says in

If Simon Girty did not actually assist in this horrible affair, he must have ordered it, or, at least, given it his approval; and, judging from what Dr. Knight saw when the unfortunate Crawford was undergoing a like fate, he must have looked upon the cruel scene with the keenest pleasure.

The retiring of the besiegers on the morning of the 11th of January, was because they had come to despair of success and were apprehensive of the alarm having reached Fort Washington. They soon returned to the Miami towns, and Girty hastened onward to Detroit, nowise discouraged by his failure to capture Dunlap's Station.

It was not long after this gallant defense before Lieutenant Kingsbury received the following from General Harmar:

"FORT WASHINGTON, 14th January, 1791.

"EXTRACT OF GENERAL ORDERS:—The general is highly pleased with the cool and spirited conduct displayed by Lieutenant [Jacob] Kingsbury in repulsing a body of about three hundred savages, who surrounded Dunlap's Station on Monday last and besieged it, endeavoring to set it on fire with their arrows, and keeping up a heavy fire against his small party for the space of twenty-four hours. . . . The spirited defense made by Lieutenant Kingsbury, with so small a force as thirty-five men total, old and young, sick and well, and in such bad works, reflects the greatest credit upon him and his party. The general returns his thanks to him, and directs that the adjutant transmit him a copy of these orders by first conveyance.

JOS. HARMAR,

Brigadier-General." *

Before dismissing the subject of the attack on Dunlap's Station, it is proper to consider what has passed into current

his *Captivity*, that Hunt was burned and tortured to death by Girty's Indians. Judge Burnet, in his well-known and valuable *Notes*, makes no mention whatever of the burning, but says: 'Mr. Hunt was killed before he could reach the fort.'

* Woodward's *History of Franklin County, Connecticut*, pp. 85, 86.

history as the conversation had between the prisoner, Hunt, and Lieutenant Kingsbury, beside what has already been suggested in this narrative. It is stated, that "Lieutenant Kingsbury took an elevated position where he could overlook the pickets, and promptly rejected all their propositions [made through Hunt], telling them that he had dispatched a messenger to Judge Symmes, who would soon be up to their relief, with the whole settlement on the Ohio. He failed, however, to impose on them [the savages]. They replied that it was a lie, as they knew Judge Symmes was then in New Jersey; and informed him that they had five hundred warriors, and would soon be joined by three hundred more; and that, if an immediate surrender was not made, they [the Americans] would all be massacred and the station burned. Lieutenant Kingsbury replied, that he would not surrender if he were surrounded by five hundred devils, and immediately leaped from his position into the fort. The Indians fired at him, and a ball struck off the white plume he wore in his hat." * Much in this account, it is evident, is an exaggeration. It is hardly to be presumed that the lieutenant would have referred to Judge Symmes, when the name of General Harmar, at Fort Washington, would have been so much more effective; besides, it is quite incredible that he would have exposed himself, as stated in the account, to the treacherous foe he had to deal with.†

After remaining in Detroit a few days, Simon Girty went to his home in Canada. By the end of winter, he was eager for the time when he could again start for the Ohio wilderness and join the Indians in the war against his countrymen; for he had fully determined to continue in active service with the savages. In April, a third child was born into the family—a daughter, to whom was given the name of Sarah. It was but a

* McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. I, p. 18.

† As to the attack, see, in addition to the authorities already cited, Farnsworth's *Cincinnati Directory*, 1819; *American Pioneer*, Vol. II; Burnet's *Notes*; *Cist's Cincinnati Advertiser* for March 21, 1848, and August 22, 1849; and *Howe's Ohio*.

few days after the birth of his daughter, before the father was in Detroit. He was then sent to the Maumee, as in the previous fall, to assist in the transportation thither of arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, and other articles for the Indians, who were to assemble on that river, or had already reached there.

Steps were now taken to bring the hostile savages to treat with the United States. Colonel Thomas Proctor was sent on a mission to the Miami and Wabash Indians, to impress them "with the candor and justice" of the United States, asking them to "demean themselves peaceably." He was to journey to these nations by way of "Cornplanter's residence," which was upon a branch of the Alleghany river, to Sandusky; thence to the Miami towns which General Harmar had attacked; and from there to Fort Washington.

While one Thomas Rhea, a prisoner to the Indians, was at the "great crossing" of the Maumee "called Sandusky," he mentioned to McKee, and the other officers who were there, that he had seen Colonel Proctor on his way to Fort Franklin (the name of the post erected at Venango by Captain Jonathan Heart, at the command of Colonel Harmar)—that he understood he was on his way to the Miami towns or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, that he expected that Cornplanter would accompany him in order to settle matters with the hostile nations, and that he anticipated getting shipping at Fort Erie, just across the Niagara river, at its head, in Canada, to bring him and the Senecas to the Miami villages or Sandusky. It was the further testimony of Rhea, that the officers at the Rapids of the Maumee, in their conversation with each other, said that if *they* were at Fort Erie, Colonel Proctor should get no shipping there. The Mohawks, who were then at the Maumee crossing, as well as other Indians, declared that if Proctor, or any other Yankee messenger, came where they then were, he should never carry messages back. This was frequently expressed not only by the Indians, but also by Simon Girty. But the latter, along with McKee, left for Detroit, before

Rhea, who embarked on the 4th of June.* It being reported that the Americans, in a large body, were again approaching the Miami towns, Girty immediately returned to the Maumee, determined to join the Indians, taking passage with Matthew Elliott, who sailed on the 8th of June for that river, with a boat load of goods for the savages, so that, by the middle of that month, he had doubtless reached the head of that stream. But the report of the marching of Americans was a false alarm. It served, however, to hasten forward all the parties who had reached the Rapids. Girty now made his way homeward, arriving at his residence early in July.

NOTE I.—It has been stated on a previous page that George Girty was present at the attack on Dunlap's Station. William Wiseman, in 1850, told Charles Cist that it was indicated, in the course of the parley which ensued, not only that Simon Girty was in command, but that his brother, George, was with him. Mr. Cist was also told by Samuel Hahn, at the same time, that George was of the party. (See Cist's *Cincinnati* in 1859, pp. 94, 105.) I find no evidence to the contrary of this. Wiseman and Hahn were both in the fort when it was beset by the enemy.

"In 1850, I had the pleasure of bringing together, after a separation of sixty years, two of the surviving defenders of *Dunlap's Station*, which, it will be remembered, was attacked by the Girtys and a large body of savages on the 7th *February* [January], 1791."—Charles Cist, in *Cincinnati* in 1859, p. 90. This has led some writers to suppose that all three of the Girtys—Simon, George, and James—were present;

* Narrative of Thomas Rhea, in *American State Papers*—"Indian Affairs," Vol. I, pp. 196, 197. See, as to the transmission of his Narrative to President Washington, the *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II, p. 224. The character of Rhea was, it was afterwards ascertained, none of the best; nevertheless, his statements of what he saw and heard during his captivity were true. Colonel Thomas Proctor got no farther than Buffalo creek, New York, on his mission. See his *Journal*, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. IV, pp. 551-622.

but the context shows that the writer meant by "the Girtys," only Simon and George. See pp. 94, 105, in the publication of Cist referred to.

"George and James Girty were as completely identified with the Indians all this time as if they had been actually born savages. They lived with them, fought with them, and apparently wanted no other society. . . . They participated in the attack on Dunlap's Station, and each took an Indian's part in the struggle then in progress."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 271. But James was not at the attack on Dunlap's Station; did not fight with the Indians against the Americans after the close of the Revolution; and, besides, it is improper to suppose (as already mentioned) that, in all respects, he was as thoroughly an Indian as if born one.

NOTE II.—Chronological Record: (1) Peace with Great Britain proclaimed April 19, 1783. (2) Claiming states (except Connecticut) yield their claims to the North-west on or before March 1, 1784. (3) Surveying began west of the Ohio, September, 1785. (4) Fort Harmar at mouth of the Muskingum erected 1786. (5) Ordinance for government of the North-west passed July 13, 1787. (6) The Ohio Company and John Cleves Symmes make large purchases in southeastern and southern portions of the present State of Ohio in October following. (7) Arthur St. Clair commissioned governor of the territory north-west of the Ohio, February 1, 1788. (8) Marietta settled April 7, following. (9) Cincinnati founded January 7, 1789. (10) Fort Washington completed at Cincinnati, December following.

NOTE III.—In 1790, Symmes's Purchase had a population of 1,300; the Ohio Company's, 1,000. Against this population, the savages were then particularly hostile; although, as we have seen, they had made, since the close of the Revolution, numerous raids across the Ohio, southward and eastward.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The "Moravian" Indians, under the charge of Moravian missionaries, moved, in the spring of 1791, from the Huron river, in the present State of Ohio, to the Detroit river, on the east side, just above its mouth. "We examined the country," says Zeisberger, on the 4th day of May, in his journal, "and encamped with the Indian brethren for the most part on [Alexander] McKee's plantation, where no one lived; for it had been vacated for us, where there is much cleared land for planting. Next to this is Elliott's plantation, where also we got much cleared land and a house to live in." This little "Moravian" settlement, which received the name of the *Warte*, or the Watch-Tower, stood in full view of the lake. Opposite to it, on the American side of the Detroit river, was a Wyandot village—not of the Sandusky Wyandots, but of those of Detroit. A few Canadian farmers lived in the vicinity of the Watch-Tower. Of these, one, of course, was Simon Girty. Planting soon followed the arrival of the "Moravians," and the harvest came on in due time; but there was trouble among the "Christian" Indians; "for," as Zeisberger declares, "there was drinking in the neighborhood, so that our people were also led astray." Girty was, in particular, a thorn in the side of the missionary; as he not only employed some of the "Moravians," but paid them in rum, making them drunk.* That he called in the services of others in harvest shows conclusively that he was prospering as a farmer.

On the 2d of May, General Scott and Colonel James Wilkinson left the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, for the Wabash towns, marching directly for the Wea village—Weatenon. This and other important towns were destroyed,

* Zeisberger's Diary, Vol. II, pp. 202, 203.

and a few Indians killed, and some captured. A second expedition was authorized by St. Clair on the 25th of June. It was commanded by Wilkinson, and consisted of five hundred mounted men. The march commenced from near Fort Washington, on the 20th of July, for the Indian village of l'Anguille, situated on the Eel river, about six miles above its confluence with the Wabash. This and various other towns were destroyed; also several hundred acres of corn. Some Indians were killed, and a considerable number captured. These active operations were in strange contrast with the tardy measures put forth to furnish St. Clair with men and the munitions of war to prosecute a campaign, which had been resolved upon, against the Miami towns. It was the 7th of September before Major-General Richard Butler, the second in command, and Quartermaster-General Hodgdon, reached Fort Washington. By this time, General St. Clair had already moved two thousand men about twenty-four miles on the way northward; but, before repeating the story, so often told, of his dire disaster, we must turn our attention to the enemy upon the Maumee, against which his forces were particularly directed.

Throughout the summer there was an unwonted activity among the Miami Indians and those who dwelt near them. The expeditions of Scott and Wilkinson to the Wabash towns kept alive the fears of the savages at the head of the Maumee. In the month of August, ammunition which had been received from Detroit, was dispatched to the Wabash, but it came too late to be of use against the Kentuckians in the last expedition. The march of Wilkinson so near to the Miami towns had caused a second concentration of all the warriors, within reach, at that place. As to Simon Girty, who made haste (his harvest being over) to reach the Miami villages from his Canadian home, it may be said that he busied himself in advising with the Indians; and, on at least one occasion, he joined a war-party in an attempt against the Americans. He may have returned once or twice to Detroit to take charge of supplies which were sent forward to the Maumee, but this is not probable, as he was resolved on fighting.

Now that the army under St. Clair, so long gathering upon

the Ohio, had actually taken up its line of march up the Great Miami, there could be no doubt in the minds of the Indians as to its destination. The warriors, from the heads of the last mentioned river, from the Sandusky, from the Maumee, and from the vicinity of Detroit and other places, gathered to oppose the advance of the Americans. The principal tribes, ready to send their braves to contest the onward progress of St. Clair, were the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, with some Mohawks from Canada, and a few Creek Indians. Munitions of war and other supplies continued to arrive at the Miami towns from Detroit. But all this was entirely unknown to General St. Clair. He was ignorant from the commencement of his march to the end, of the collected force and situation of the enemy. The Miami chief, Little Turtle, the Shawanese chief, Blue Jacket, and the Delaware chief, Buckongahelas, formed an alliance not to be despised. And these powerful chiefs not only had the aid of Simon Girty, but of McKee and Elliott, of the British Indian Department, and of a number of British and French traders "who generally resided among the Indians, and supplied them with arms and ammunition, in exchange for furs and peltries." One of these traders, as the sequel shows, was James Girty, the brother of Simon.

The first move made by the Indian chiefs upon hearing of St. Clair's forward progress, was to dispatch the Shawanese chief, Tecumseh, at the head of a small party of spies, to watch the motions of the American army and report its advancement. This work he accomplished most faithfully. So well were the Indians kept informed of its march, and of the failure of the Americans to send forward a sufficient number of scouts, that they were all soon greatly inspired with hopes of surprising their enemy. Their courage and determination were thus kept up. At the proper time they, too, advanced. Simon Girty led the Wyandots. The whole force amounted to less, probably, than fifteen hundred men.

But what of General St. Clair? Twenty-four miles from

Fort Washington, on the Great Miami, he erected a stockade fort with four bastions. To this fortification was given the name of Fort Hamilton; it was on the site of what is now Hamilton, Ohio. On the 4th of October, St. Clair resumed his march, and, in ten days, had advanced forty-two miles only. At a point six miles south of what is now Greenville, Ohio, another fortification was built and named Fort Jefferson. It was made of logs laid horizontally. The army did not move again until the twenty-fourth. For the next nine days, there was much desertion among the militia; heavy rains fell; provisions ran short; St. Clair was sick; when, on the evening of the 3d of November, the army of fourteen hundred men encamped at the site of the present town of Fort Recovery, Ohio, at a distance, in a straight line, of fifty miles from the head of the Maumee, the objective point, as we have seen, of the expedition. Meanwhile, the enemy were marching directly to meet St. Clair, sending out in advance numerous scouting-parties, some of which during the night came so near as to draw fire from the pickets of the Americans. On the morning of the 4th of November, the troops at early dawn paraded and had been dismissed but a few minutes (the sun not yet up), when the woods in front rung with the yells and firing of the savages. At this moment, St. Clair was lying sick in his tent.

The story of the battle which ensued has often been told. At the first fire, the militia in front fled through the first line of regulars, causing some confusion. Then the whole camp seemed to be surrounded by the foe. The soldiers were pressed toward the center and fell in scores. St. Clair quickly arose from his sick couch and endeavored, but in vain, to reform the lines. The officers fell on every hand. Major-General Butler was early wounded, but continued to urge resistance. When, at last, all the artillery officers had either been killed or wounded, and the Indian fire was threatening a total annihilation of the army, preparation was made for retreat, which was accomplished, though in a disorderly manner, after such of the wounded as could be moved were

gathered together. The killed and missing numbered thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates; the wounded, thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates. Such was "St. Clair's Defeat!"

The Wyandots fought most courageously, and none with more bravery than their leader, Simon Girty, who was presented with three of the captured cannon;* but the present proved of no value to him, as he could not remove them. He afterward told a prisoner (William May)† that there were twelve hundred Indians of the whole force, three hundred of which were not in the battle, but were left in the rear to take care of the horses. The same prisoner was also informed that three hundred savages were on the march at the time, under the command of a white officer, Lieutenant Prideaux Selby, of the Fifth British Regiment, but did not get up in time to participate in the action, and that Captain Joseph Bunbury, of the same regiment, was in the action, but did not learn that he took any command. Both of these officers also belonged to the British Indian Department.

Among those who fought with the savages were considerable numbers of Canadians, mostly young men, and in particular such as were born of Indian mothers. There were also some refugees present. Girty was not the only one who, on that day, fought against his countrymen. After the action, he found General Butler on the field, writhing from the agony of his wounds. The general spoke to him and requested him to end his misery. "The traitor refused to do this, but turning to one of the Indian warriors, told him the wounded man was a high officer; whereupon the savage planted his tomahawk in his head, and thus terminated his sufferings. His scalp was instantly torn from his crown, his heart taken out and divided into as many pieces as there were tribes engaged in the battle."‡

* See May's Statement (affidavit), in American State Papers—"Indian Affairs," Vol. I, p. 243.

† May's Statement, just cited.

‡ Of the various published accounts of the death of General Butler, the above seems the most trustworthy. See Stone's *Life of Brant* (ed. of 1865),

On the retreat and general rout of the army, Girty captured, it is said, a white woman. A Wyandot squaw who accompanied the warriors of her nation, perceiving this, demanded the prisoner, on the ground that usage gave all female captives to the women accompanying the braves. Girty refused and became furious; when some warriors came up and enforced a compliance with this rule of the Indians—to the great relief of the prisoner. The woman was afterward sold to a respectable French family in Detroit.*

The valor displayed by Girty at St. Clair's defeat greatly increased his reputation among the savages, and more than ever were the Wyandots his friends after that signal victory. He returned to the Maumee with them; and the commencement of 1792 still saw him upon that river. Whether or not he visited Detroit and his home during the latter part of winter is uncertain; but, in the early spring, he is known to have been again with the Indians. The Miami towns were no longer the principal point for the rendezvousing of the savages. It was seen that a place not so much the object of the Americans would be preferable; so the junction of the

Vol. II, p. 310; Sabine's *American Loyalists*, Vol. II, p. 474; *Events in Indian History*, Lancaster, 1843, p. 290. In many statements that have been printed, it is said, simply, that, after the battle, Girty found among the dead, the body of Butler, which he recognized. Compare *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford, in 1782*, p. 197.

Concerning General Butler's death, the old ballad entitled "St. Clair's Defeat" has this to say:

"We had not been long broken when General Butler found
Himself so badly wounded, was forced to quit the ground.
'My God,' says he, 'what shall we do; we're wounded every man;
So charge them, valiant heroes, and beat them if you can.'

"He leaned his back against a tree and there resigned his breath,
And like a valiant soldier sunk in the arms of death;
When blessed angels did await his spirit to convey;
And unto the celestial fields he quickly went his way."

* William Walker, in *Wyandotte (Kas.) Gazette*, April 18, 1872. The anecdote will be found, also, in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 197.

Auglaize with the Maumee became the Indian head-quarters. It is the site of the present Defiance, Ohio.

On the 13th of April, William May, whose name has previously been mentioned, a private soldier, was sent from Fort Hamilton on the trail of three men who had previously left that post, dispatched as a flag to the Indians. May was soon after captured and brought to a Delaware town about ten miles above the mouth of the Auglaize, "where he was much beat." At the junction of the Auglaize with the Maumee, the prisoner found a number of English traders; and either here or at the Delaware village above, he met Girty, who saved his life, he having been condemned to death.* He was then sent to war with twenty-two Indians. This was about the first of May. The party in eight days reached Fort St. Clair, a post which had recently been established by the Americans, twenty-five miles north of Fort Hamilton, and near where Eaton, Ohio, is now located, where they killed one man, and returned through the battle-field of the previous 4th of November.

On the twenty-fifth of June, about one hundred Indians commanded, it is believed, by Girty, made an attack on a party of soldiers at Fort Jefferson, five miles south of the present Greenville, county-seat of Darke county, Ohio, who were out cutting hay, not far from the fort. Sixteen were killed and taken prisoners; four dead bodies only could be found.†

May was employed for the next three months in the trans-

* It is a matter of regret that nothing whatever is known of the particulars of this act of kindness on part of Girty. It redounds more to his credit—when we consider that May was a total stranger to him—than in saving the life of Kenton. That he has not heretofore received commendation for what he did, is because the incident has, to a great extent, escaped the notice of Western historians.

† American State Papers.—Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 238. It is not entirely certain that Girty commanded the savages on this occasion; but there is no doubt of his presence.—See Rondthaler's *Life of Heckewelder*, p. 113. Historians of the West have overlooked this affair. I find it nowhere recorded by them. Compare, also, *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, Vol. XII, p. 45.

port service, on board a schooner that carried about one hundred and sixty barrels. As he had formerly followed the sea, Elliott purchased him from the Indians to utilize his knowledge in the way just mentioned. He made a trip from the Maumee to Detroit and back generally in from eight to twelve days. It was at the foot of the rapids of the river, that McKee, as agent in the Indian Department, kept his stores to supply the savages, and Elliott was engaged in their transportation and distribution. "From the mouth of the [Maumee] river to Detroit," says May, "is one hundred and eight miles, or ninety miles along the lake and eighteen up the [Detroit] river." "It was the common opinion," is his testimony, "and the common conversation, that no peace would take place unless the Ohio river was established as the boundary line between the Indians and the Americans." *

May left Detroit about the first of September, sailing down the lake to Fort Erie, where he arrived on the fifth, and not long after was permitted to return to Pittsburgh. Before his leaving the Maumee, a grand council had been called of all the North-western tribes to assemble at "the Glaize" in October. Already there were gathered thirty-six hundred Indians—Pottawattamies, Shawanese, Miamis, Ottawas, Wyandots, Delawares, Munceys, and Chippewas. They drew daily rations from the British government, which were supplied to them from Detroit. May affirmed that it was the general and unanimous sentiments of all the Canada Indians and other nations who had assembled and were assembling at "au Glaize" (generally known as "the Glaize" or "Grand Glaize") to confer together, that the Ohio must be the boundary line, and that all the Western savages would join the Confederacy against the Americans unless the latter would agree to it. Nor would they return home until they had compelled a compliance with their wishes in that regard, they having brought their families with them or sent for them.† It was the great coming on of this grand council that kept Girty at

* May's statement, before cited.

† Id.

or near "the Glaize" during the summer. From the subsequent relation of another prisoner, O. M. Spencer, we gather further information of him during this time, and also, as will hereafter appear, of his brother James.

It was on the 3d day of July, 1792, when young Spencer (his age was eleven years) left Columbia, a settlement just above Cincinnati, on the north side of the Ohio, for Fort Washington, to participate in celebrating "the glorious 4th." On the seventh, the boy, with four others, started in a canoe to return up the river. The persons with him were a Mrs. Coleman, Mr. Jacob Light, and a drunken man whose name is unknown. They were, when well on their way, fired on by two Indians in ambush on the river bank; the intoxicated man was killed and Light wounded. The latter and Mrs. Coleman jumped into the river and escaped, but young Spencer was captured and hurried into the wilderness.* The party crossed Buck creek in what is now Clark county, Ohio, and soon after forded the Mad river, striking thence in a north-westerly direction to the Great Miami. After crossing this stream, probably not far from the present location of Sidney, Ohio, the boy was taken to the Auglaize, down which river he was conducted to its confluence with the Maumee, which place, "the Glaize," was reached "a little before noon of the thirteenth of July." Here, on the opposite side of the river last mentioned, he was left in charge of an old widowed squaw, occupying a bark cabin near its bank. Concerning her family we have some interesting particulars.

There was a dark Indian girl (an orphan) two years older than Spencer, and a half Indian boy, about a year his junior, both her grandchildren. The mother of the girl and boy was then the wife of George Ironside, a British Indian trader, living at a trading station, on a high point directly opposite the grandmother's cabin, a few hundred yards above the mouth of the Auglaize. The boy was reputed to be the son of Simon Girty, and was very sprightly, but, withal, passionate and will-

* See, in this connection, Rondthaler's *Life of Heckewelder*, p. 111; also McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. I, p. 36.

ful, a perfectly spoiled child. The grandmother called him *Simo-ne*; that is, *Simon*.*

About the twenty-first of July, the old squaw took the boy prisoner on a visit to a Shawanese village located farther down the Maumee. They were kindly received by an Indian acquaintance, whose wife, a very pleasant and rather pretty woman of twenty-five, set before them, according to custom, some refreshments, consisting of dried green corn boiled with beans and dried pumpkins, making, as the youngster thought, a very excellent dish, indeed. After spending a few hours with this family, they went to pay their respects to Blue Jacket, the most noble in appearance of any Indian Spencer had ever before seen. His person was about six feet high, was finely proportioned, stout, and muscular; his eyes large, bright, and piercing; his forehead high and broad; his nose aquiline; his mouth rather wide; and his countenance open and intelligent, expressive of firmness and decision. He was considered one of the most brave and accomplished of the Indian chiefs, second only to Little Turtle, of the Miamis, and Buckongahelas, of the Delawares. He had signalized himself on many battles, particularly in the defeat of Colonel Hardin's detachment in Harmar's campaign, and that of General St. Clair on the previous fourth of November. He held, as the boy was told, the commission and received the half-pay of a brigadier-general from the British crown.

On the day of their visit to Blue Jacket, this chief was expecting what, to him, was distinguished company; it was none other than Simon Girty, accompanied by a chief of a neigh-

* "The family of *Coo-h-coo-cheeh* [the old squaw in whose charge he had been left], consisted of a dark Indian girl (an orphan) two years my elder, and a half Indian boy, about a year younger than myself, both her grandchildren by her only daughter, now the wife of George Ironside, a British Indian trader, living at the trading station, on the high point directly opposite to her cabin, a few hundred yards above the mouth of Auglaize. The boy, reputed to be the son of the famous, or rather infamous renegade, Simon Girty, was very sprightly, but withal, passionate and willful, a perfectly spoiled child, to whom his mother gave the Mohawk name of *Ked-zaw-saw*, while his grandmother called him *Simo-ne* [Simon]."—Spencer's *Indian Captivity*, p. 78.

boring village—the Snake, a Shawanese warrior, spoken of in a previous chapter. In honor of the occasion, Blue Jacket was dressed in splendor; had on a scarlet frock, richly laced with gold, and confined around his waist with a parti-colored sash; also, red leggins and moccasins, ornamented in the highest style of Indian fashion. On his shoulders, he wore a pair of gold epaulets, and on his arms broad silver bracelets; while from his neck hung a massive silver gorget, and a large medallion of his majesty George III. Around his lodge were hung rifles, war-clubs, bows and arrows, and other implements of war, while the skins of deer, bear, panther, and otter, the spoils of the chase, furnished pouches for tobacco, or mats for seats and beds. His wife was a remarkably fine-looking woman; his daughters, much fairer than the generality of Indian women, were quite handsome; and his two sons, about eighteen and twenty years old, educated by the British, were very intelligent.

The expected visitors soon came; and, to young Spencer, who had often heard of him, Simon Girty was a person of more than usual curiosity; and he subsequently wrote of his personal appearance in an exaggerated manner.

Girty wore the Indian costume, but without ornament, upon this occasion; and his silk handkerchief, while it supplied the place of a hat, hid the unsightly scar in his forehead, caused by the wound which, the reader has already been told, was given him by Captain Joseph Brant. On each side, in his belt, was stuck a silver-mounted pistol, and at his left hung a short, broad dirk, serving occasionally the uses of a knife. He made many inquiries of Spencer; some about his family and the particulars of his captivity, but more of the strength of the different garrisons, the number of American troops at Fort Washington, and whether the President of the United States intended soon to send another army against the Indians. He spoke of the wrongs he had received at the hands of his countrymen, and, with fiendish exultation, of the revenge he had taken. He boasted of his exploits, of the number of his victories, and of his personal prowess; then, rais-

ing his handkerchief, he exhibited, to his youthful listener, the deep scar in his forehead; said it was a saber cut which he received in the battle at St. Clair's defeat, adding that he had sent the damned Yankee officer who gave it to hell.* He ended his talk by telling young Spencer that he would never see home again; but, if he should turn out to be a good hunter and a brave warrior, he might one day be a chief. The captive boy then returned, with the old squaw, up the river.†

NOTE I.—“A few years after the close of the Revolution,” says a published account, “a daughter of Captain John Van Bebber, named Rhoda, aged seventeen, and Joseph Van Bebber, a young lad of thirteen, . . . had crossed over in a canoe, one morning, to the west side of the Ohio, opposite Point Pleasant, on an errand to Rhoda's father, then living temporarily in a house that side of the stream, when a party of Indians suddenly made their appearance. Dave, a black man belonging to Captain Van Bebber, gave the alarm, and rushed into the house. The Indians attacked the house, but were driven off by Dave and Captain Van Bebber with the loss of two or three of their number. Joseph and Rhoda, in their terror, hastened to the canoe, whither the Indians pursued them, killed and scalped the young lady and took Joseph a prisoner to Detroit. . . . While at Detroit, he became acquainted with the notorious Simon Girty, then [as he said] a pensioner [on half pay] for services in the Revolution. He said Girty was an affable man, but extremely intemperate. Girty denied to him that he was the instigator of the death of Colonel Crawford; but that he went so far to save him that his own life was in danger.”—Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*, p. 367. It is evident that the capture of the son of Van Bebber was in the early days of the Indian war, which, in this chapter, is described as actually existing in the West; but it is an exaggeration to say that, at that period, Girty was extremely intemperate. He would

* Of course, this was all false.

† Spencer's *Narrative* (“*Indian Captivity*”), p. 35 et seq.

occasionally get drunk; and he was rather more inclined to the "flowing bowl" than when he left Pittsburgh; but he was far from being an habitual drunkard.

NOTE II.—The part taken by Simon Girty at St. Clair's defeat has not, heretofore, been well understood.

"Simon Girty figured in the terrible defeat of the brave but unfortunate St. Clair, November 4, 1791, and was evidently a personage of some importance, but owing to the fact that the Indian side of the story of these early and bloody days is not recorded, the part he took is not clear."—Magazine of American History, Vol. XV., p. 271. It is to be presumed that the affidavit, or statement, of May, before referred to, escaped the notice of the writer of the foregoing, as it makes very clear the part Girty took in the action.

"At about half an hour before sunrise (but after the morning parade), the militia, . . . while engaged in preparing their morning meal, were attacked, *unexpectedly* attacked, by a large body of Indians, supposed to have been commanded by the infamous renegade Simon Girty."—Isaac Smucker, in Annual Report of the (Ohio) Secretary of State, 1880, p. 31. While it is certain that Girty commanded the Wyandots only, on that memorable occasion, it may have been that he led in the attack—that the Wyandots were the first to engage in the action.

NOTE III.—Two prisoners to the Pottawattamies came in to Fort Jefferson in July, 1792, reporting that the Indians would hear no propositions for peace until all forts and settlements north of the Ohio were abandoned; that they would kill all peace messengers and deserters coming to them; and that Simon Girty was personally present at the last attack on Fort Jefferson (June 25th), made by more than one hundred Indians.—Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XII, pp. 45, 46.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Indian Agent McKee, at the Maumee Rapids, was continually planning expeditions against the Americans, to be carried on by the Indians, under the leadership of white men, when they could be induced to go; and none were, as a general thing, more willing to engage in this warfare, and, with tomahawk and scalping-knife, march toward the settlements upon the Ohio, than refugees from the states. The prowess exhibited by Simon Girty of late made it an easy matter to induce the savages, with him in command, to undertake expeditions of more than ordinary danger. It was at McKee's suggestion and request that he marched, with two hundred and forty-seven Wyandots and Mingoes, with two white guides (prisoners among the savages, and forced to the disagreeable duty), to strike at the pack-horses at a place called "The Fallen Timber," between Forts St. Clair and Hamilton.

It was Girty's determination, if he missed of his object there, to go to Columbia, and do every mischief in his power before the meeting of the proposed council, so as to influence its sittings; in short, to use his own words, he "would raise hell to prevent a peace."* This preventing peace was the great end and aim—the work to be accomplished by the British in Canada, although the letters of those high in office to American officials were characterized by a pacific tone. However, Girty and his warriors were recalled. The presence of the former was imperatively demanded at "the Glaize." It was resolved by the Indians, notwithstanding, to undertake an expedition of the kind after the proposed meeting of the na-

* May's Statement: American State Papers—"Indian Affairs," Vol. 1, p. 244, already cited.

tions; and that resolution was successfully carried out, but under the lead of Little Turtle, instead of Girty.

The meeting of all the Indian nations of the North-west took place in the fall of 1792, at "The Glaize." The place where the council was held was high ground, on the point between the Auglaize and the Maumee. Here, extending from the latter river up the first-mentioned stream, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak woods, with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep, high bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log-houses, inhabited principally by Indian traders. The most northerly, a large hewed log-house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store, and dwelling, by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders "on the point." Next to this was the house of Pirault, a French baker, and McKenzie, a Scotchman, who, in addition to merchandising, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs. Still farther up, were several families of French and English; and two American prisoners, Henry Ball and wife, were allowed to live there. They were captured at St. Clair's defeat, and were permitted by their masters to work and earn the price of their ransom; he by boating to the Rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing.

Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade, inclosing two log-houses. In one of these, McKee and Elliott stored their supplies of arms, and other articles which were now being handed out to the savages in lavish quantities; in the other, lived a trader, mention of whom will hereafter be made, and with whom Simon Girty had his home while the council continued. From this station, a fine view could be had of a large Indian village—more than a mile south, on the east side of the Auglaize—Blue Jacket's town; and of the Maumee river for several

miles below. An extensive prairie, covered with corn, directly opposite, could also be seen—the whole forming a very handsome landscape.

It was in October when the great council was held. The chiefs of all the North-west tribes were present. There were representatives of the seven nations of Canada also in attendance. Thither went more than forty chiefs of the Six Nations. "Besides these," said Cornplanter, "there were so many nations that we can not tell the names of them." Twenty-seven from beyond Canada were there—of course, by their representatives. A large number came from westward of the Mississippi. Even in all that assemblage, there was but one white man—only one admitted to the council—and that one, Simon Girty! This was a very clear and striking proof of the hold he had upon the feelings of the Indians. To him, but to none other, not even McKee or Elliott, who were below, at the Rapids, could they feel safe in confiding their inmost thoughts. It was, doubtless, a proud moment for the renegade. Well had he earned the confidence now reposed in him by the savages. He advocated to the fullest extent what the Indians desired; and he could, therefore, be trusted by them.

The Shawanese chiefs spoke for war; but the Six Nations, through Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, advocated peace, declaring to the assembled multitude that the United States desired to hold a council with the nations. The eloquence of Red Jacket induced them finally to consent to an armistice; they would hear what the President had to say, at the Rapids of the Maumee, the next spring, "or at a time when the leaves are fully out." But, even while the Indians were in council, two hundred Shawanese and Miamis, under Little Turtle, learning of some threatening movements of the Americans to the southward, marched to one of their camps near Fort St. Clair, and attacked it pretty successfully on the 6th of November. The savages returned with a number of scalps, many horses, and a great deal of captured baggage.

In December, the American forces, now recruited and

trained, were gathered at a point about twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio. The army was called the Legion of the United States, and was divided into four sub-legions, and provided with legionary and sub-legionary officers.

The United States early took measures to meet the hostile tribes at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, as had been suggested by them. Three Commissioners* were appointed, but the proposed meeting, it was determined, should be held at Lower Sandusky. A number of Quakers (and Heckewelder, the Moravian) were also deputed to take part in the conference.† Meanwhile the Indians of the West, dissatisfied with the response of the United States to the address sent by them in the previous October, had held another council at "the Glaize." This was in February, 1793. Word was sent the Six Nations that they would not listen to any proposition from the United States save upon the basis of the Ohio river as the boundary, and the removal of the American forts from the Indian territory. They also informed them that the Western nations would hold a private council at the Maumee Rapids before they would meet the American Commissioners. Simon Girty was present at the meeting in February, so that the probability is he remained upon the Maumee during the winter.

The "Preliminary Council" (that was to be such) was begun in June, at the Maumee Rapids, by the North-western Indians. Soon after its commencement a message was transmitted to the American Commissioners—meeting them at Fort Erie, in Canada—asking explanations as to whether they were authorized to establish a boundary between the United States and the Indians, and indicating an uneasiness at the demonstrations of the American troops upon the Ohio. Sending back a satisfactory answer, the Commissioners, on the 14th

* Benj. Lincoln, of Massachusetts; Beverley Randolph, of Virginia; and Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania. For their instructions, see *American State Papers*—"Indian Affairs," Vol. I, pp. 340-342.

† For the names of the whole party, see *Rondthaler's Life of Heckewelder*, pp. 131, 132.

of July, embarked for the mouth of the Detroit river, which they reached on the twenty-first, where they were obliged to land, the British authorities at Detroit forbidding their approach farther toward Sandusky.

Leaving the Commissioners where they had landed, which was on the Canada side of the river, let us consider for a moment the condition of affairs upon the Ohio and the Maumee. General Wayne advanced his head-quarters from Legionville, a short distance below Pittsburgh, on the 30th of April, to a point near Fort Washington (Cincinnati), and was there engaged in organizing and drilling his army, in forwarding supplies to Fort Jefferson, and in cutting military roads northward—making preparations for an immediate campaign in the event of the failure of the Commissioners to make peace with the Indians.

At the Rapids of the Maumee were assembled representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamis, Potawatamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas, Seven Nations of Canada, Senecas of "the Glaize" (Mingoes), Nantekokies, Mohicans, Messassagoes, Creeks, Cherokees, and Munceys. But the Six Nations were excluded. Simon Girty was in attendance having remained at the Rapids since the gathering in February at "the Glaize." McKee was also there counseling with the savages and dealing out supplies right and left from the government stores.

The Commissioners of the United States upon leaving their vessel in the river took up their abode at the house of Elliott, which was not far from Girty's. As McKee was Deputy Indian Agent for the Crown and was at the council upon the Maumee, along with Girty, they addressed him a note, informing him of their arrival and requesting that the meeting with the Indians might be hastened. This message was sent in charge of Elliott, on the morning of the 22d of July, to the Rapids.

On the 29th, a deputation of "upwards of twenty Indians," including a Wyandot chief, and accompanied by Elliott, Thomas

McKee (son of Alexander), Simon Girty, and Thomas Smith,* an interpreter, arrived on the island in the Detroit river near where the Commissioners were stopping, and the next morning the chief delivered a message to them in writing, in the name of the "Confederacy" demanding an explicit answer to the question—"Are you fully authorized by the United States to continue and firmly to fix on the Ohio river as the boundary between your people and ours." In presenting the document, the Wyandot made a speech which Girty translated.

A lengthy reply in writing was made by the Commissioners on the thirty-first, the gist of which was that they were *not* authorized to fix the Ohio river as the boundary. This was interpreted by Girty and a Mr. Jones in the Seneca tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot chief and by others of the deputation. The rejoinder was made on the 1st of August by the same Wyandot (Girty again interpreting), the purport of which was that they would lay the written document of the Commissioners before the warriors upon the Maumee; but he added, so Girty interpreted, that they (the Commissioners) might "now go home!"

This piece of strategy on part of either the Wyandot or Girty to end the council with the Western nations, was immediately foiled by Elliott mentioning what had been said, to a Shawanese chief who was present, declaring that it was wrong, and the latter agreed with him; but Girty insisted that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot had spoken. However, as the words were of vital importance and contrary to what the interpreters of the Americans had heard other chiefs say, the evidence is strong that the declaration was wholly the work of Girty. Besides, the Wyandot himself came back and said it was wrong. The matter was settled finally by the chief adding (what Girty now correctly interpreted)—"Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts and shall consult our head warriors." The Indians with Elliott and Girty

* For this man's given name, I am indebted to Rondthaler's Heckewelder, p. 138.

thereupon returned to the Rapids of the Maumee with the written speech of the Commissioners. Heckehelder, who was present at this meeting on the island, declares that Girty "supported his insolence by a quill or long feather run through the under part of his nose cross ways." *

On Friday, the 16th of August, two Wyandot runners arrived at the Detroit river and handed to the Commissioners a final answer from the Indian council. It was in effect that the Ohio river must be made the dividing line between the Indian lands and those of the United States; that they would agree to no other boundary. A brief reply was returned, that this was impossible and that the negotiation was at an end.† Information of the failure of the Commissioners to arrange matters with the Indians was rapidly communicated to General Wayne and hostile movements were made at once from the Ohio toward the Maumee. On both sides the war was renewed.

There are incidents connected with the visit of the Commissioners and the Quakers to the mouth of the Detroit of interest to our narrative, as they refer to the family of Girty. One of the Friends (William Savery) kept a journal, from which we make an extract, beginning with the 3d of August, 1793, just at the time when all were awaiting the final answer from the Indian council:

"3d. The vessel called Detroit, bound to Fort Erie, appearing in sight, I wrote a hasty letter. Appointed a meeting to be held at Simon Girty's, to-morrow at ten o'clock.

"4th. First-day morning. Very rainy, and much wet in my tent; rose about three o'clock, bundled up my mattress, and tied it in a painted cloth, and sat upon it till sunrise. The rain continuing, three of us went to Simon Girty's, but find-

* Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 402, 403.

† American State Papers—"Indian Affairs," Vol. I, pp. 842-857. While it is true, as we have shown, that Girty took a very active part with the Indians and aided powerfully to bring to naught the negotiations, it can not be said, with truth, that he alone secured the failure. It is error, therefore, in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography (art. "Simon Girty") to claim it for him.

ing none met, except the family, returned. Captain Hamilton, an amiable man, and an officer in the Fifth Regiment, dined with us. The Chippeway, a vessel bound from Fort Erie to Detroit, brought one hundred and eighty Indians and landed them at the Miami [Maumee] river. The afternoon being pleasant, had a meeting at Simon Girty's, about one and a half miles from our camp, at which a number of Indians were present and behaved soberly. General [Benjamin] Lincoln, General Chapin, Captain Hamilton, Lieutenant Givans, and several seamen, also attended; I believe it was to satisfaction. The few scattered white people in this Indian country, many of whom have been prisoners of war, have no opportunity of public worship; yet some of them are glad of our meetings; among whom was the wife of Simon Girty, who also had been a prisoner among the Indians."*

Along the Maumee during the remainder of the year, after the breaking up of the council at the Rapids, there was much excitement. It was plainly foreseen that that stream the next year would be the seat of war with the savages. Causes of irritation having arisen between the United States and Great Britain, war also seemed not to be among the impossible events that might soon happen between the two governments. So the savages were more openly encouraged; for, in case of a rupture between the two powers, they would be found, as during the Revolution, valuable auxiliaries. Girty returned to his home (only two days' sail from the Rapids) some time during the autumn. Here he remained during the winter, frequently, however, visiting Detroit.

NOTE.—Heckewelder's account of the termination of the Commissioners' efforts to arrange matters with the savages assembled on the Maumee is as follows (see his *Life* by Rondthaler, pp. 134, 135):

"August 16th. Two young Wyandots arrived from the council, with a written speech to the Commissioners in re-

* A *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labors of William Savery* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 67.

ply to their former speech delivered on this ground ; which address was both impertinent and insolent, being intended to put an end to the treaty business. The language in the speech was such that no person having knowledge of the Indians and their modes of expression, would believe it an Indian speech ; but be that now as it may, there were assembled at Miami [Rapids of the Maumee] by this time fifteen hundred warriors, and, anxious for mischief, they threw off the mask. The messengers [the two young Wyandots] having gone off agreeably to Simon Girty's orders, after they had delivered their message, the Commissioners sent after them, desiring them to take an answer back to the council, which they agreed to. We saw quite plainly that the Indians were not allowed to act freely and independently, but were under the influence of evil advisers ; wherefore this speech was to convince them of the pains the United States had taken to bring about a peace with them ; and that as they had slighted this golden opportunity and been inattentive to their own welfare and disappointed the United States, they must abide by the consequence, and blame themselves and their advisers alone if the result should be disastrous."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The year 1794 was one of great activity for Simon Girty as "British interpreter"—for this was his only official designation. He received pay by the day for this work. Besides this, he got regularly his half pay, or pension, and was, subsequently, as will be hereafter seen, granted the land by the Crown which had been promised him. He was seen in February, in Detroit, by an American, under circumstances which will now be related.

On the 3d of February, 1794, Jacob Lewis, in an endeavor to rescue from captivity a sister of his—Mrs. Joseph Kinan—reached Detroit from New Jersey. One day while sitting talking with a gentleman—Dr. Freman—at his house in the outskirts of the town, the latter suddenly exclaimed: "Here comes Simon Girty." As Lewis had heard of the renegade, and knew what his reputation was among Americans, he was not only surprised, but alarmed. Girty entered the house without knocking; and, without saying a word, stood looking at the American stranger. He had evidently been drinking, which fact made his presence any thing but agreeable. After a few minutes, in which he stood still as a statue, Lewis asked him if he had ever seen him before. "No," was his emphatic answer; "but if ever I see you again, I shall know you," at the same time drawing out from its sheath a large butcher-knife and throwing it down between the American and the gentleman with whom the latter was conversing. It was not long, however, before he picked up the dangerous weapon and left the house. Lewis saw Girty several times afterward, but was always well treated by him.

Jacob succeeded, finally, in rescuing his sister, after much difficulty, from the savages. He looked upon Girty as "grown old, broken down, and dissipated, so much so that he was

neither fit for a soldier or an Indian." * But this estimate made of the "British interpreter" was quite an erroneous one. It is true that, at home and in Detroit, he was frequently under the influence of liquor, but he was not "grown old," as our previous record discloses, nor was he "broken down," as the sequel shows.

In the same spring of 1794, Girty was again upon the Maumee. His services as interpreter were now greatly in demand, for the Governor of Canada was marching thither with a force of regulars, not actually to join with the savages in taking the field against Wayne, but in doing every thing he well could, to assist them short of this. After reaching the Maumee, he proceeded to the erection of a fort at the rapids, to the great indignation of Washington. The fortress was located on the north-west side of the river, nearly opposite the site of what is now Perrysburgh, Ohio. It was built for the express purpose of supporting the operations of the Indians. The British authorities were almost in open war with General Wayne.†

The time had now arrived for active operations on part of the Indians. A blow was to be struck against the advancing army of the Americans, and Girty was to join in the affair. It was planned by McKee that the warriors should march to attack convoys and any garrisons that could be enticed out of forts. The Indians were led by Little Turtle. His force amounted to more than one thousand savages. Many white men besides Girty helped to swell the ranks of the enemy—Thomas McKee, son of Alexander McKee, was one of these. By the twenty-seventh of June, the Indians had reached the site of the present town of St. Mary's, in what is now Auglaize county, Ohio, which shows they must have started from "the Glaize" (or "Grand Glaize," as it was frequently

* McBride's Pioneer Biography, Vol. II, pp. 269-276. "He [Simon Girty] had a family and lived at Malden, on the opposite side of the [Detroit] river."—Id., p. 276.

† Compare Smith's History of Wisconsin, Vol. I, p. 199.

called), marched up the Auglaize river to a point where it was necessary to leave the stream in order to march directly, in a south-west direction, for Fort Recovery.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the thirtieth of June, one of the American escorts, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Major William McMahon, was attacked by the Indians, who had now reached their objective point—Fort Recovery. The fighting began under the walls of the fort, and was followed by a general assault, "imprudently made," afterward said McKee, upon the post and garrison. The enemy were soon repulsed with considerable loss, but immediately rallied and renewed their attack. They kept up a heavy and constant fire, at a more respectable distance, for the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect by the garrison, and that part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post. The savages were employed during the night, which was dark and foggy, in carrying off their dead by torch-light, which occasionally drew a fire from the fort. They succeeded so well, however, that there were but eight or ten bodies left on the field, and those were within easy reach of the fire from the fortification.

The enemy, on the morning of the next day, renewed the attack, but were ultimately compelled to retreat ingloriously, from that very field where, on the fourth of November, 1791, they had been so proudly victorious. The loss of the Americans was twenty-two killed, thirty wounded, and three missing; that of the enemy, according to their own admission, was very severe—more than they suffered at St. Clair's defeat. It was an unexpected reverse to the Indians; and, upon their return, it required the most active exertions of the British at their new post at the foot of the rapids ("Fort Miami," as it was called), to keep up the spirits of the savages, notwithstanding they could boast of having inflicted considerable loss upon the Americans. Girty, in this attack, fought with his usual bravery; but whether he had any command is

unknown. It was the last battle against his own countrymen in which he took an active part.*

All through the early months of 1794, Wayne was busily engaged in preparing for a sure blow when the proper time came. On the 26th of July, a large number of mounted men from Kentucky joined him at Fort Greenville, and on the twenty-eighth the legion began its forward movement. The point aimed at was "the Glaize," but Wayne feinted to draw the attention of the savages to the head of the Maumee and to the Rapids. It is probable but for the desertion of one of his men he would have succeeded in his strategem and surprised the "Grand Glaize." As it was, he was so near, that they were compelled to abandon the place precipitately. Here at the junction of the Auglaize and Maumee, Wayne built Fort Defiance.

From this post, it was determined to march down the river and meet the foe who were in force near the British fort. Meanwhile, an effort was made for the last time to bring about peace with the savages without further bloodshed, but it resulted only in the foe asking for time, which Wayne was not disposed to give. On the 15th of August, the legion was again on the march. Three days more, and forty-one miles had been reached, when some light works were commenced to secure the baggage during the expected battle. On the twentieth, all baggage being left in "Fort Deposit," as the place was called, the army moved down the Maumee, on its north bank, to fight the Indians, if it was war they wanted.

The enemy, upon abandoning "the Glaize," soon began to rendezvous at the Rapids, near the British post. The deficiencies in arms, ammunition, and equipments were there supplied them by the commander of the fort. There, they were

* "Girty and his Wyandots," says the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 272, "were found arrayed against the Americans in the campaign of 1794, and they took part in the desperate attack on Fort Recovery, on the 30th of June." But I have seen no evidence that he either led those savages or fought more especially with them than with others present on that occasion.

fed with regular rations from the king's stores, consisting of flour and Irish beef. This was substantial aid.

On the 18th of August, McKee wrote the commandant at Detroit that he was glad that such exertions were being made by him to supply the Indians with provisions. He declared that scouts had been sent up to view the situation of Wayne's army, and he added: "We now muster one thousand Indians. All the lake Indians from Saginaw downwards should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits." The principal nations there gathered were the Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, Ottawas, and Wyandots—something less than fifteen hundred in all, when, on the 20th of August, they chose their ground and awaited the attack of Wayne. Their position was a formidable one, about four miles above the British fort, and on the same side of the Maumee. In their front, the ground was covered by old fallen timber, occasioned, years previous, by a tornado. The Indians formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other. They extended for nearly two miles at right angles with the river. Girty, Elliott, and McKee "were in the field, but at a respectable distance and near the river."* They doubtless had a premonition that the day would end in disaster.

The American army moved to the attack—the legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, and the other in the rear. A select battalion of like troops moved in front of the legion, which was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the soldiers to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined, so far as Wayne was concerned, whether the Indians would decide for peace or war. After advancing about five miles, the corps in front received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retire. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close,

* American State Papers—"Indian Affairs," Vol. I, p. 494.

thick wood, which extended for miles on the left and for a considerable distance in front, the fallen timber before spoken of rendering it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and affording the Indians the most favorable protection for their mode of warfare. Wayne soon discovered, from the weight of their fire and the extent of their lines, that the savages were in full force and in possession of their favorite ground, and were endeavoring to turn his left flank. He therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first. At the same time, the whole of the mounted volunteers were directed to gain and turn the right flank of the enemy by a circuitous route.

The front line was now ordered to advance with trailed arms and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and, when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again. The legionary cavalry were ordered to turn the left flank of the savages next the river, the ground affording a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude, but the charge by the first line of infantry was so rapid and impetuous that the enemy—Indians, Canadian militia, and volunteers—were quickly driven back, giving the mounted volunteers and second line of the legion little opportunity to engage the foe, who were forced back, in the course of an hour, more than two miles, and finally were put to flight. The victory was complete. Wayne's loss was—killed, thirty-three; wounded, one hundred: that of the Indians is unknown. Girty made good his escape;* so, also, McKee and Elliott. Such was "the battle of the Fallen Timber."

* "Girty and his Wyandots . . . were present at the battle of Fallen Timber on the 20th of . . . August [1794], when old Mad Anthony Wayne visited such a crushing defeat upon the brave but fated savages."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 272. It is true that Girty and the Wyandots were in this battle. He did not, however, lead them in the action, nor was he actively engaged therein. They were not, therefore, "his Wyandots." But the latter fought bravely.

After the battle of the Fallen Timber, McKee wrote to the Detroit commandant that it would require great efforts to induce the Indians to remain in a body. He and Girty now sailed for Detroit, where plans were concerted to call the savages again in council. The governor of Canada, with McKee and Captain Brant (the latter having with him one hundred Indians—Mohawks and Messassagoes), repaired to the Miami fort upon the Maumee. The chiefs of the various nations were gathered there, and invited by the governor to meet him at the mouth of the Detroit river, to hold a treaty, which invitation was immediately accepted. At this gathering, which was held in October, the Indians were advised to propose a truce until spring. More presents than ever were made by the British. The chiefs were asked to hold a grand council, after the next winter was over, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio. Meanwhile, they could convey all their lands on the west side of that river to the king, to be held in trust, so as to give the British a pretext for helping them. The Indians promised to do what the governor asked—at least some of them. At this council was Simon Girty. He exerted himself to the utmost to further the wishes of the British.* But it was the last opportunity for him to display, in a general council, his animosity to his countrymen—the Americans. The chiefs had experienced enough of war.

During November, Girty assisted McKee, at the mouth of the Maumee, where the Indians (who had had all their corn destroyed by Wayne) were in huts, in furnishing them with provisions. About the 1st of January, 1795, he returned to his home in Canada. His wild career in the Ohio country was well-nigh ended.

* "Camp Miami Villages [Ft. Wayne], 11th October, 1794.—A Canadian (Rozelle) with a flag arrived this evening; his business was to deliver up three prisoners in exchange for his brother, who was taken on the 20th August; he brings information that the Indians are in council with [Simon] Girty and McKee near the fort of Detroit; that all the tribes are for peace except the Shawansee, who are determined to prosecute the war."—*Daily Journal of Wayne's Campaign*, in *American Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 355.

It was not long after Wayne's return to Fort Greenville (whither he had retired subsequent to his victory over the savages), before the wishes of the Indians to make peace began to be made apparent to him. On the last days of December, the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattamies, and Miamis came into Fort Wayne, a post which had been erected—now the site of the city of the same name in Indiana—with friendly messages. During the month of January, 1795, these chiefs, together with representatives from the Delawares, Ottawas, Wyandots of Sandusky, and Shawanese, entered into preliminary articles at Fort Greenville with the commander-in-chief. During the winter, prisoners were exchanged, and preparations made on both sides to meet in June for the purpose of forming a definite treaty. These arrangements coming to the ears of the British, Simon Girty was sent to admonish them to desist. It was his last effort, in a public way, to endeavor to influence the Western nations to still hold out against the Americans; and the effort was a signal failure. He returned to Detroit to report that nothing could change the minds of the chiefs of the various tribes. He then made his way to his Canadian home, never again to appear in the Indian country as a British emissary to antagonize the interests of America.

CHAPTER XXIX.

In going with the enemy to assail Fort Henry at Wheeling, in September, 1782, James Girty, for the last time, so far as it is known, marched to attack his own countrymen. Living with the Shawanese at Wapatomica, he had become well acquainted with the country to the westward, especially upon the St. Mary's, and upon the west branch of the Great Miami, now known as Loramie creek. To his mind, the point where the portage began at the head of the St. Mary's, leading south across to the last-named stream, was one where a trading-house might properly be established. It was identical with the site of the present town of St. Mary's,* in Auglaize county, Ohio, and was then a small Indian village. He had already been trafficking to a considerable extent with the Shawanese and other tribes, purchasing his supplies at Detroit. He had also married a Shawanese woman, who was known to the whites as Betsey. She could speak English. In 1783, immediately after being assured that peace between the United States and Great Britain had been made, he moved his family and effects to the place just described, where he was soon established as a trader. His new home subsequently received the name of "Girty's town," because of his having lived there, which it retained long after he had left.†

James enjoyed for a little over seven years a complete monopoly of the Indian trade at his trading-house. He shipped peltry down the St. Mary's to the Maumee; thence, down the stream last mentioned to the Rapids (a point already frequently mentioned), and from that place across Lake Erie to Detroit, returning with stores to be disposed of to the Indians

* See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 198.

† Compare, in this connection, *Sutton's History of Auglaize County, Ohio*, pp. 26, 27.

at large profits. These goods were brought by water, right to his door.

During his residence at what is now St. Mary's, James was frequently frightened by reports of the advance of American troops, especially in 1786 of Colonel Logan; and on several occasions, he had his goods packed ready for immediate removal; but, until the fall of 1790, they all proved false alarms. He had timely warning of the approach of General Harmar in that year; whereupon, he moved his stock first to the head of the Maumee, and immediately after down that river to "Grand Glaize," where he was out of harm's way.

Mention has been made of the captivity of young Spencer, and of his visit upon the Maumee, in July, 1792, to the Shawanese chief, Blue Jacket. He remained at "the Glaize" until the next February, when, near the close of the month, he and the Indian family with whom he lived proceeded down the river some four or five miles, and engaged in sugar-making. While thus employed, a messenger arrived at their camp, and privately informed the old Indian woman that the British Indian agent from Detroit had arrived at the Grand Glaize; that the boy had been purchased by him; and that he (the messenger) had been sent to conduct him to the Point—that is, to "the Glaize." The young prisoner, the next morning, was on his way with the man who had been sent to get him, greatly excited at the prospect of being released from captivity.

It was a pleasant morning on the last day of February, 1793, that young Spencer bade adieu to his Indian friends. The sun, just setting, seemed to shine with unusual splendor; never before, as he thought, had it appeared so bright and beautiful. The captive had been at first "as one that dreamed," scarcely crediting the fact that he was no longer a prisoner; gradually, however, as he left his late dwelling farther and farther behind him, he became assured and conscious of the truth that he was *indeed free*; he was, as a consequence, like a bird loosed from his cage, or a young colt from his stall; to suppress his feelings, or restrain his joy, would

have been almost impossible. He laughed, he wept, he whistled, he shouted, and sung by turns. Never had he moved before with step so elastic—now skipping over logs, jumping, dancing, and running alternately, while the messenger, a Frenchman (whose name he found on inquiry to be Joseph Blanch), sometimes stopped and looked at him intensely, as if suspecting he was more than half crazy.

By degrees, the boy became more temperate; his extreme joy gradually subsided. He now confined the expression of his happiness to singing and whistling, which he kept up almost without intermission until the Auglaize was reached, when, stepping into a canoe, and crossing that river, in a few minutes he entered the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Ironside. This gentleman received him with more than usual kindness, and, congratulating him upon his release from captivity very heartily, introduced him to Matthew Elliott, the assistant British Indian agent, and to a Mr. Sharpe, a merchant of Detroit, who had accompanied Elliott to the Auglaize. Elliott received young Spencer with considerable *hauteur*, and with a look that spoke that his noticing him was condescension, notwithstanding, as the boy afterward learned, he had been sent by the express order of Governor Simcoe, of Canada, to effect his ransom and convey him to Detroit.

As if such service as rescuing Spencer was degrading, Elliott pretended that, being at Auglaize on public business, he had accidentally heard of the captive, and, actuated wholly by motives of humanity, had procured his release, for which he had agreed to pay one hundred and twenty dollars. The wife of Ironside now kindly invited the boy to breakfast; but Elliott, objecting to the trouble it would give her, ordered the Frenchman to take him over to James Girty's, where, he said, their breakfast would be provided. Girty's home was one of the two log houses before spoken of as within a small stockade at "the Glaize," where his brother Simon made his headquarters while at that place; the other house being occupied by McKee and Elliott, occasionally, while on the Maumee. James Girty's domicile served the double purpose of a living-

room and store. Girty's wife soon furnished Spencer and the Frenchman with some coffee, wheat bread, and stewed pork and venison, of which the boy ate with great *gusto*, it being so much better than the food to which he had lately been accustomed; but he had not more than half breakfasted when James Girty came in.

The latter seated himself opposite Spencer, and said to him: "So, my young Yankee, you're about to start for home?" The boy answered: "Yes, sir; I hope so." That, he rejoined, would depend upon his master, in whose kitchen he had no doubt the youthful stranger should first serve a few years' apprenticeship as a scullion. Then, taking his knife, said (while sharpening it on a whetstone): "I see your ears are whole yet; but I'm greatly mistaken if you leave this without the Indian ear-mark, that we may know you when we catch you again." Spencer did not wait to prove whether Girty was in jest or in downright earnest; but, leaving his meal half finished, he instantly sprang from the table, leaped out of the door, and in a few seconds took refuge in Mr. Ironside's house. On learning the cause of the boy's flight, Elliott uttered a sardonic laugh, deriding his unfounded childish fears, as he was pleased to term them; but Ironside looked serious, shaking his head, as if he had no doubt that if Spencer had remained Girty would have executed his threat. The boy soon started down the Maumee, and reached Detroit on the 3d of March, 1793, when he was delivered to Colonel Richard England, the officer in command of that post.*

The arrival of General Wayne in the vicinity of "the Glaize," in 1794, was made known to James Girty in time for him to pack up his goods and make a safe retreat with his family, consisting of his wife and two children—James and Ann—down the Maumee. He finally made his way to Detroit, thence to Essex county, Canada.

George Girty, after the battle of the Blue Licks, returned, it will be remembered, in the latter part of August, 1782, to

* Spencer's Narrative ("Indian Captivity"), pp. 117-129.

the upper waters of the Mad river. He afterward so completely gave himself up to savage life that his identity is with difficulty traced. It is known, however, that he continued to reside with the Delawares. From "Buckungehelas town," inhabited by Indians of that tribe, and located upon the upper waters of the Great Miami, he wrote Captain McKee, on the 5th of September, 1784, concerning affairs there and further westward. "I have to acquaint you," he says, "that some of the Cherokees and Shawanese are gone a horse-hunting again. I am likewise informed that the Kickapoos and Weas have taken several prisoners lately from about the Falls [Louisville] and Salt creek, which has occasioned an army to march from the place first mentioned against them." This and other information was given McKee with as much particularity as if there was still war between the United States and Great Britain. His letter shows, in strong light, how the Kentucky settlements were harassed, even at so late a date as the fall of 1784.

It will be remembered that, after the commencement of hostilities between the Western Indians and the United States, George again took part against his countrymen, as his presence at the attack upon Dunlap's Station proves, and as the following relation concerning the captivity of a boy in Western Pennsylvania sufficiently demonstrates: John Brickell was captured in February, 1791, on the Alleghany river, at the age of ten years, by Delawares, and immediately hurried into the wilderness. After going a little distance, the savages and young Brickell fell in with George Girty. He spoke to the boy in English, and told him that white people had killed Indians, and that the Indians had retaliated, and now there was war, and that he (Brickell) was a prisoner. "We will take you," said he, "to our town and make an Indian of you. You will not be killed if you go peaceably; but, if you try to get away, we will not be troubled with you, but we will kill you and take your scalp to our town." Brickell informed Girty that he would go peaceably and give them no trouble.

The next morning, the Indian who had captured the boy

delivered him to the care of Girty, and took another direction. The latter, with his young prisoner, continued his course toward the Tuscarawas. They traveled all that day through hunger and cold, camped at night, and continued until about three o'clock in the afternoon of the third day, since Brickell had tasted a mouthful of food. A fire was then made, and the boy was tied to a sapling, while Girty went to kill something to eat. The boy untied himself before the return of Girty, but did not attempt to run away. Girty left him at the Tuscarawas in charge of his Indian captor, whom they met there. The lad, after remaining a considerable time with the Indians, was released from captivity.*

NOTE.—In "An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky," it is stated (pp. 197, 198) that, "After this [St. Clair's defeat, Simon] Girty was engaged in the Indian trade at Lower Sandusky, going thence to 'Girty's town,' on the St. Mary's, where he established a trading-house." But this, it is now well known, is erroneous. He never was a trader with the Indians, either at Lower Sandusky, "Girty's town," or elsewhere. The statement (only inferential) first appeared in print in Howe's Ohio, p. 353, and then in the Wyandot (Kan.) Gazette, of April 18, 1872, in an article by the late William Walker, which has already been cited in this narrative. It will be found repeated in substance in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, Art. "Simon Girty." "We all know that the headwaters of the St. Mary's

* Narrative of John Brickell, in the American Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 53. The Magazine of American History (Vol. XV, p. 271) says: "George and James Girty were as completely identified with the Indians all this time, as if they had been actually born savages. They lived with them, fought with them, and apparently wanted no other society, and did all they could to make Indians out of the white children they frequently captured." But the writer of this narrative has not discovered any attempt of James Girty to make Indians out of white children *he* "frequently captured." He was from all accounts, willing, when upon the war-path, to tomahawk young and old; and if children were taken prisoners by the Indians when he was on a maraud into the border settlements, he seems to have given himself no trouble as to what became of them.

are where old Fort Barbee stood, just below where the three streams—the east, middle, and west branches—form that river. . . . We have spoken of James Girty as being the Girty who lived at the headwaters of the St. Marys, and gave his name to the old Indian town here. It has been supposed by many that it was Simon who lived here.”—Sutton’s *History of Auglaize County, Ohio*, pp. 26, 27. Consult, farther, as to the location of “Girty’s town,” Wayne’s dispatches; also the articles of the Greenville treaty. Several early published maps give the location correctly.

CHAPTER XXX.

Let us now consider the condition of affairs in the Indian country, as preparations were going forward looking to a general gathering of all the nations determined to make peace with the United States. Even Simon Girty, as we have seen, had signally failed in his last endeavor to move any of the chiefs from their firm resolution to bury the hatchet. They had had enough of war—enough of the misery which war had brought in its path. Nothing could prevent the holding of a great and definitive treaty with General Wayne.

Nevertheless, both Girty and McKee continued to influence those Indians living contiguous to Detroit, preventing, in the end, a few from going to Greenville. And Captain Brant was even more influential at this time than they in his appeals to the savages, arguing against any arrangement looking to a permanent peace. "We should have come in greater numbers," said a Chippewa sachem to General Wayne on the 18th of July, 1795, "but for Brant's endeavors to prevent us."

"The commission you received from Johnson," said McKee to the Shawanese chief, Blue Jacket, some time before, "was not given you to carry to the Americans. I am grieved to find that you have taken it to them [referring to the preliminary treaty of January previous, made with General Wayne]. It was with much regret I learned that you had deserted your friends, who always caressed you, and treated you as a great man. You have deranged, by your imprudent conduct, all our plans for protecting the Indians, and keeping them with us. They have always looked up to you for advice and direction in war, and you have now broken the strong ties which held them all together under your and our direction. You must now be viewed as the enemy of your people and the other Indians whom you are seducing into the snares the Americans have formed for their ruin; and the massacre and

destruction of these people by the Americans must be laid to your charge." But all was unavailing; no arguments, no persuasions, no presents, of McKee had any effect upon the great majority of the war chiefs and sachems.

The struggle which ended in the independence of the United States was hardly over before the treaty which had been negotiated between this country and Great Britain was, as we have previously noted, openly violated by the last mentioned power. In England it was complained that there was in the United States an equally open violation. And so with criminations and recriminations matters went on. As has already been intimated, one of the principal causes of the Indian war which had now for nearly six years raged in the North-west was the refusal of the British government to give up the military posts in this region. There could be but little hopes of a permanent peace so long as these forts were garrisoned by English troops. It was an imperative necessity that a new treaty be entered into between the two countries.

John Jay was sent to England, and the result was that negotiations were concluded and the "Jay treaty," as it is called in the United States, signed on the 19th of November, 1794, ninety days after the victory of Wayne over the Indians upon the Maumee. The particular article of the treaty most important to the North-west was the one stipulating that the Western posts should be vacated by the English soldiers. Therefore it was that, in the spring and early summer of 1795, with the lofty spirit of the hostile Indian tribes subdued, there seemed to be, and there really was, with the certainty that soon the Americans would have actual possession of all the military posts in the North-west, the brightest prospects of peace of a lasting nature with all the savage nations between the Great Lakes on the north and the Ohio river on the south. It was "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Now, from far and near came the sachems and war chiefs and others of the different tribes to Greenville; and they continued to come until twelve nations had their representatives on the ground, swelling the number of the latter to eleven hundred

and thirty. The assembled multitude were of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Piankashaws, Kickapoos, and Kaskaskias. It was the most notable gathering that had ever before taken place at any council with the Indians, so far as the United States was concerned. Considering the interests involved and the magnitude of the questions settled, it must ever be considered, perhaps, the most important of our Indian treaties. The result was this:

The Indian boundary was to commence on the north side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river; thence to extend north a little east of Fort Recovery; thence eastwardly to the Muskingum (now Tuscarawas river); thence up the latter to Cuyahoga portage, and down the last named stream to Lake Erie, where Cleveland now stands. All west of this line, to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, except a few small tracts, was to remain Indian territory. This settled the question of boundary. It ceded to the United States a tract of country west and north of the Ohio river of not less than twenty-five thousand square miles—all east of the line drawn as before described. There were sixteen detached portions of territory west of the line, also ceded, including, among others, all the military posts with contiguous territory, soon to be vacated by the British. "It is with infinite pleasure," wrote General Wayne (who, by a commission dated the 4th of April, 1794, and another of the 15th of April, 1795, had authority 'for settling a peace with all the tribes') to the Secretary of War, on the ninth of August of the year last mentioned, "I now inform you that a treaty of peace between the United States of America and all the late hostile tribes of Indians north-west of the Ohio, was unanimously and voluntarily agreed to, and cheerfully signed by all the sachems and war chiefs of the respective nations on the third, and exchanged on the seventh instant."* The Indian war of 1790-95 was ended.

* The several articles of the treaty of Greenville, together with a lengthy

“The relations between the two countries [Great Britain and the United States] were not permanently established [by the recognition of our independence], and discussions soon commenced, which assumed a character of severity. They were fraternally closed by Jay’s treaty, at the moment when a war appeared inevitable. But during the progress of these discussions, the usual indications of Indian hostilities, such as have preceded and accompanied all our differences with the British Government, gave unerring warning of the storm which was approaching. It burst upon our frontiers; and during the administration of General Washington this unprovoked war embarrassed and perplexed the infant government. . . . Detroit was then, as in the period of the Revolution, the British Indian head-quarters. The elder McKee was at the head of the Indian Department, and he was aided by Elliott and [Simon] Girty, men well qualified to serve in such a cause, where hands that stayed not, and hearts that relented not, and zeal that tired not, could furnish examples which even savages might admire in despair.”*

It now only remained for the United States to get possession of the military posts of the North-west—of Fort Miami upon the Maumee, and of the forts at Detroit and Mackinaw. About the middle of May, 1796, a force was sent from Fort Wayne for that purpose. In July, the fort upon the Maumee and the one at Detroit received each an American garrison; and, in October, the United States flag floated out upon the breeze at Mackinaw. So the general government was in actual possession before the close of the year of all its territory “north-west of the river Ohio;” but the Indian nations had for their homes (where Americans, with but here and there small tracts as exceptions, had no right of occupation) the north-west half of what is now the State of Ohio, nearly all of the present Indiana, and the whole of the region now

account of the proceedings attending the negotiations of the same, are to be found in *American State Papers*—“Indian Affairs,” Vol. I, pp. 562–583.

* Lewis Cass, April, 1827.

constituting the States of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and so much of Minnesota as lies east of the Mississippi river.

When the treaty of Greenville became known at Detroit and in its immediate vicinity, and the particulars of the "Jay treaty" had been fully digested there, it was apparent to all the inhabitants, as well as to the British officers of the army and Indian Department, that longer opposition to the march of American jurisdiction westward was unavailing. This was a bitter pill (as may well be imagined) for the loyalists in that quarter to swallow. The oaths of McKee were long and loud. Simon Girty drowned his deep-mouthed execrations in the "flowing bowl." He continued, however, to visit Detroit, declaring he would make that post a place of resort, to defy the power of the United States until their soldiers should appear in sight. And he made good his word.

When the fort at Detroit was taken possession of, it was discovered that "the wells had been filled with stones, the windows broken, the gates locked, and the keys deposited with an aged negro, in whose possession they were afterward found." As the detachment of American soldiers neared the town, it became known that they were approaching. There were no British officers to turn over the post to the Americans; but in the town was Simon Girty, who declared he would not stir one inch, unless driven out. However, at the sight of boats coming up the river with American troops on board, he became so much alarmed that he could not wait for the return of the ferry-boat, but plunged his horse into the stream, at the risk of drowning, and made for the Canada shore, which he reached in safety, pouring out a volley of maledictions, as he rode up the opposite bank, upon the United States government and troops, mingled with all the diabolical oaths his imagination could coin.* The truth was, that ever since his desertion from Pittsburgh in the spring of 1778, he had upon one subject seemed to be ill at ease. He

* Compare, in this connection, the Wyandotte (Kas.) Gazette, of April 18, 1872; also, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 201.

was curious to know of prisoners what was in store for him should he be captured by the Americans. The idea of his falling into their hands was a terror to him. It was only that he had nerved himself up with strong drink that he remained as long as he did before making himself secure on British soil. He often boasted in after years of his exploit in swimming the river, and of the power of the horse that carried him safely over.* Henceforth, except when Detroit was in possession of the British in the War of 1812, the river he had so heroically crossed was the boundary between him and the country of his birth, which he never passed.

It does not appear that Girty was possessed of an extraordinary amount of courage; nevertheless, there is nothing on record to imply that he was a coward. In battle, he usually displayed a fair amount of bravery. As to his foolhardiness, there is some testimony, if the following story is to be credited. He got into a quarrel at one time with a Shawanese, caused by some misunderstanding in a trade. While bandying hard words to each other, the Indian, by inuendo, questioned his opponent's courage. Girty instantly produced a half-keg of powder, and snatching a fire-brand, called upon the savage to stand by him. The latter, not deeming this a legitimate mode of settling disputes, hastily evacuated the premises.†

NOTE I.—The Magazine of American History (Vol. XV, p. 272), says: “[Simon] Girty was now getting on in years, and when the treaty of Greenville, in the summer of 1795, closed the old Indian wars of the West, and brought his hunting grounds and his adopted kinsmen under the authority of the people he had fought so long and hated so cordially, the

* Brice's History of Ft. Wayne, p. 135. There is a tradition, seemingly well authenticated, that the plunge into the river was off a high bank, and was really a daring affair. See Farmer's History of Detroit, p. 269.

† Wyandotte Gazette, before cited. See, also, An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, p. 200. The story is also copied in the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 271.

battle-scarred warrior, disappointed, disgusted and furious, abandoned forever his old home on the St. Mary's and followed the retiring British to Detroit." In this extract are to be noted a number of errors: (1) Girty had no hunting-grounds in the West, nor were any of the tribes there his adopted kinsmen (unless, indeed, the Mingoes are to be so considered); (2) he did not abandon his old home on the St. Mary's, for he never, as already shown, lived there; and (3) he did not follow the retiring British to Detroit, but had years before taken up his residence in Canada.

NOTE II. — The Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 278, also says: "Driven at last from American soil, Girty found a refuge at Fort Malden, a post which had been established by the British on the east side of Detroit river, on the Canadian frontier just before the evacuation of Detroit [in 1796], and distant only fifteen miles from that stockaded village so famous in the annals of Indian warfare. Fort Malden commanded the entrance to Detroit river and from its walls the red-coated sentinel could look for many a mile up the stream which separated him from the territory of the new Republic, and turning, view the beautiful waters of Lake Erie spreading out before him as far as the eye could reach. The ground once occupied by this defense is now the property of Hon. John McLeod, ex-member of the Canadian Parliament. A platform of elevated earth cast up in the long ago by the veterans of George III., and the stump of the flag-staff that once surmounted it, are now the only remains of the fort from whence issued the invading forces which brought death and disaster to the American soldiers of the War of 1812. The very name 'Malden' has almost disappeared from the maps, and its successor, 'Amherstburg,' now designates the picturesque spot in the county of Essex, Upper Canada, where once the royal stronghold stood." But, as has before been shown, Girty was, at the close of the Revolution, re-called by DePeyster from "American soil"—he was not driven from it; nor did he find a refuge at Fort Malden; but,

as we have seen, he quietly settled, in 1784, about two miles below the spot where that fort was subsequently built.

NOTE III.—“The Malden of 1796,” is the further language of the same article—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 278—(the writer of which article supposes it was in that year that Simon Girty first made his home in that neighborhood), “which Girty sought, though but an outpost of the wilderness frontier, was busy enough just then, surrounded as it was by hundreds of hungry refugee Indians, from the war-desolated North-west, who were clamoring for aid and comfort from their British employers. Here, . . . safely ensconced were Elliott and McKee, his corrupters of Fort Pitt and his boon companions for twenty years. They had found it convenient to be among the earliest arrivals. These educated white mercenaries grew rich from the fruits of their treason, while the illiterate Girty, Indian like, waxed poorer and poorer. It was well said lately to the writer by a scholarly correspondent who owns original papers bearing upon the Girty case, that ‘Girty was terribly punished for his conduct, whilst men who deserved it more escaped almost unscathed.’”

But Girty had little or nothing when he was married and settled near what was afterward Fort Malden. He was, at the close of the Revolution, as shown in a previous chapter, granted half-pay by the Crown, and, as will be presently seen, was further rewarded by the government in a grant of land, so that he did not grow poorer and poorer, dating either from 1784 or 1796; nor was he ever terribly punished for his conduct, unless, indeed, from remorse arising from cruelties to his countrymen, or from a knowledge of the execrations heaped upon him by the Americans.

NOTE IV.—The article referred to in Note III, also says that the troops of Wayne, as they approached Detroit, felt sure “that now at last the daring and notorious White Indian [Simon Girty] would fall into their clutches.” This is error.

CHAPTER XXXI.

From the taking possession of Detroit by the Americans in 1796, the career of Simon Girty was, to the end of his days, one largely appertaining to his home life. That his enforced and somewhat novel farewell to the American side of the Detroit river, ended his intercourse, to a very great extent, with the Ohio Indians, will readily be imagined. He continued, nevertheless, to act as interpreter, when occasion required, at conferences between Indians in Upper Canada and the British authorities. A resident of his vicinity, many years after, asserted, that "he used to go to Fort Malden as interpreter under the employment of the government." *

The region of Canada where Girty had his home, was formed into the county of Essex by proclamation of the 16th of July, 1792. It was made to include all the territory bounded on the east by the county of Suffolk; on the south by Lake Erie; on the west by the river Detroit to Maisonsville's mill; thence by a line running 'parallel to that river and Lake St. Clair, at the distance of four miles, until it met the river La Tranche, or Thames; and thence up that stream to the north-west boundary of the county of Suffolk.†

In October, 1797, Girty's last child was born. It was a boy, and was named Prideaux, after Prideaux Selby, before mentioned, a friend of the father. The child grew to manhood, married, and settled in Essex county. He raised a large family. In 1836, upon the death of King William IV, a dissolution of the Canadian Parliament occurred, and a new election ensued. The candidates for seats from the county of Es-

* See the statement of Mrs. McCormick, as copied into the Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. VII, p. 126.

† Compare Smyth's *Topographical Description of Upper Canada* (London, 1799), pp. 74, 75,

sex were John Prince, Francis Caldwell, Prideaux Girty, and Dominique Langlois, of whom, the first two named were successful. Mr. Girty was a resident of Colchester—a man of some influence in his own locality, where he afterward figured in municipal affairs. He was commissioned a major during the Canadian rebellion, and in that capacity served under Colonel Prince throughout the continuance of the ruffled state of affairs in that region. He died in Ohio, in January, 1853, leaving a widow, Catharine Mackenzie Girty.

“At the close of the war of 1783,” says a Canadian historian, “it was determined by government to confer grants of land to the refugee loyalists in Canada, on the same scale to officers and men as had been done after the conquest of Canada, 1763, with the exception that all loyalists under the rank of subaltern were to receive two hundred acres.”

“The settlers of Upper Canada,” continues the same writer, “up to 1790, may be divided into those who were forced away from the states by persecution during and after the war; the disbanded troops; and a nobler class who left the states, being unwilling to live under other than British rule.”* To this latter class belonged McKee and Elliott, and, in a certain sense, Simon Girty and his brother James and George.†

Simon did not, however, secure his land just below Amherstburg, upon which he had lived ever since his marriage, until the 6th of March, 1798, when the Crown granted him Lot No. 11, Concession 1, in the township of Malden, Essex county, Canada, described as “beginning at a post on the bank of the river Detroit, marked $\frac{1}{2}$; thence east 131 chains; thence

* Canniff's *History of Canada*, pp. 165, 183.

† It was not, as has been shown, that Simon Girty was unwilling to remain a Whig—a patriot—under the new order of things inaugurated by the determined spirits of the Revolution, that induced him to put himself under British rule, but the persuasions of McKee and Elliott; and James was prevailed upon by all three not to return to Pittsburgh again—not, however, because he was particularly averse to living under “rebel” sway; while George, undoubtedly deserted for the reason that his two brothers had gone over to the British.

south 12 chains, 52 links; thence west to the river Detroit, and thence northerly along the shore of the river against the stream to the place of beginning, containing 164 acres." *

Simon and his wife, a few months after the birth of their son, Prideaux, separated. Drunkenness, and cruelty caused by it, on his part (he would often, when intoxicated, strike Mrs. Girty on her head with the flat of his sword), were the reasons for the separation—the wife leaving her home. Frequently, at this period, he would go to Malden and get drunk. In 1800, he broke his right ankle. He suffered much from the accident, and was lame the rest of his life. Because of this mishap, he was, to a great extent, incapacitated from laboring on his farm, even had he been inclined so to do. Then, his previous training, his habits of intoxication, and his sight, which was now beginning to be impaired—all militated against outdoor work on his part. Besides his half-pay, his support was mostly obtained from what he received occasionally from the government for interpreting, and from the proceeds of his farm.

"Sometimes," says a published account (already often referred to in these pages) in mentioning the life led by Girty during these years, "he sought excitement in the rum he loved so much and which was dealt out so freely at the fort [Malden], and then he was an Indian indeed, and would tear around on horseback flourishing an Indian war club, singing Indian war songs, and filling the air with the terrible sounds of the scalp halloo. Sometimes his recreation would be a long hunt with a party of savage kindred, and again it would be some dangerous expedition." † But his taking an occasional recreation in a long hunt with a party of savage kindred (if any such kindred there had been), and his indulging in some dangerous expedition occasionally, are to be doubted: his age, habits, and his physical condition would seem to preclude, on his part, enjoyment of such things. As to savage

* Magazine of Western History, Vol. III, pp. 321, 322.

† Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 274.

kindred, he had none—neither blood relatives, nor relatives by adoption—in his vicinity.

There are a number of traditions afloat concerning a visit said to have been made by Girty in 1811 (or just before that time) to his brother, Thomas, and his half-brother, John Turner, both residing near Pittsburgh. No two of these agree as to particulars.* Besides, it is now known that he had not, at any time after 1796, and before the war of 1812 was fully inaugurated, been in the United States—not once had he crossed the Detroit river. He was, indeed, too much disabled from his infirmities to have undertaken the journey, which would have been at that day one of hardships.

Down to 1811, Girty's three eldest children—Ann, Sarah, and Thomas—had all married; Ann to Peter Govereau, Sarah to Joseph Munger, and Thomas to Miss Moneka Evans. *one* Girty's eye-sight, which had been for some time impaired, as already mentioned, was now seriously failing him.

On the first day of May, 1812, Girty, "in consideration of natural affection" and the sum of five shillings, made a deed to his son, Thomas, of the north half of "Lot number eleven in the first Concession of the Township of Malden, in the County of Essex and Province of Upper Canada, containing by measurement eighty-two acres, be the same more or less." Girty's mark is made in signing this deed, for, it will be re-

* For one of these traditions, see Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 274: "All sorts of wonderful and improbable tales are told of this bold appearance of Simon in the very midst of his enemies. One of the wildest recounts an attack that was made upon him while he was concealed at Turner's house, and the statement is made that he then received a saber-cut in the head which ultimately caused his death. Unfortunately for this thrilling tale, the saber-cut dated back to St. Clair's defeat. He was convinced, however, that he was still cordially detested, and especially at that time when the hostile movements of the Wabash Indians caused the savage horrors of the past to be so vividly recalled. His presence was detected and vengeance was threatened, but he escaped, and returning home found all Upper Canada in excited commotion over the rapidly approaching war between the United States and England and the certain invasion of the province." But the saber-cut, as we have shown, was not given at St. Clair's defeat.

membered, he could not write; and the indenture did not have the signature of Mrs. Girty appended, as she and her husband still lived apart. The names of "A. Masonville, of Amherstburg, merchant," of "William Elliott, advocate," and William Duff appear in the instrument as witnesses. But the deed was not actually signed by Girty at the date of its being written—that is, on the day just mentioned.

Stirring scenes were now at hand in the vicinity of Girty's home. War had been declared between Great Britain and the United States, and Detroit, in August, 1812, was surrendered to the enemy. "At the capitulation of Detroit," says Brice, "Mrs. Suttentfield and her husband being there, [they] saw Simon Girty. . . . When he had last visited Detroit some years prior [1796], he had caused his horse to jump off a considerable embankment into the river and then swam her over the same. 'Here's old Simon Girty again on American soil!' he exclaimed as he approached a crowd gathered at a prominent point in the place. . . . 'What did you do with the black mare you jumped into the river when Wayne was after you?' inquired one of the crowd. 'O, she is dead, and I buried her with the honors of war,' replied Girty."*

It had been sixteen years since Girty set foot upon "American soil;" and in the conflict of arms now carried on, he took no part. "Old Girty" was too far advanced in life—too feeble—for military service, however much he may have desired again to engage in deadly strife against his countrymen. He was only with the British army as a looker-on when the red-coats took possession of Detroit; and, for the next few months, he frequently visited the town.

On the 3d of July, 1813, Girty finally signed the deed already noticed (which had been written over a year) of the north half of his farm. It was registered, on the ninth day of August following, in the registry office for the county of Essex.

When the news of Perry's victory reached the east side of the Detroit river, Proctor and Tecumseh were at Fort Malden

* History of Fort Wayne, p. 135, note.

with a motley army of British and Indians, two thousand strong, waiting to lay waste the frontier of the United States. It may be presumed that Proctor's hopes had not, of late, been of a very sanguine character, for his repulse at Fort Meigs and defeat at Fort Stephenson were not calculated to strengthen, in any marked degree, his expectations of success. Girty was advised by his old-time friend, Elliott, to leave his home and retire out of harm's way, well knowing that he would be in danger—in imminent peril, in fact—should he remain upon his farm, as it was now a certainty that Canada would at once be invaded by General Harrison. Girty gave heed to the warning and immediately made preparations for his journey, intending to go to the Mohawk Indian country upon Grand river. It is related by one who saw him soon after his departure, but before reaching Sandwich, that he said despondingly he was nearly blind and somewhat old, and thought it doubtful if he should ever return to his home.*

After his victory of September 10, 1813, Commodore Perry converted a part of his captured vessels into transports, and taking Harrison's troops on board, conveyed them to Canada—to the east side of the Detroit river. Proctor having anticipated this movement, dismantled Fort Malden, burned the barracks, and, after securing all the horses and cattle in the neighborhood, commenced a retreat.†

The American army landed just below Amherstburg. The right wing was composed of Kentucky volunteers under command of Governor Shelby. The latter issued an order to his men to the effect that while the army remained in the country of the enemy, he should expect the inhabitants to be well treated—"with justice and humanity"—and their property be secure from unnecessary and wanton injury. Upon the approach of the Americans, most of the people in the whole region around hastily abandoned their houses,

* Note from William Walker to the writer.

† Girty did not *follow* but *preceded* Proctor. The statement to the contrary in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 198, is error. It is copied into *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 276.

having hid their property as best they could. But Mrs. Girty remained at the home of her daughter—Mrs. Ann Govereau—in Amherstburg, where she had been living for considerable time. There was much fear and trepidation in the place as the soldiers approached, and a number of the women came out to implore the protection of the commander. They were, of course, quickly assured that no harm would be done them or their property.

Just here it may be proper to state, for reasons that will be presently seen, that Simon Kenton, the same whose life had been saved by Girty, was with the army. He had volunteered with the Kentucky troops as a private for no other reason than to serve his country. He was a privileged member of Governor Shelby's military family. As he passed with the rest of the Kentucky troops, on the 27th of September, the house of his old companion in arms in Dunmore's War, he was totally ignorant as to who was its owner; nor had he the slightest suspicion that in Amherstburg was the wife and daughter of Simon Girty.

Some time after Harrisen landed in Canada, Commodore Perry had occasion to send one hundred Kentucky soldiers to Detroit. They went on shore on the Canada side of the river, below Malden, and proceeded thence to their point of destination; but, before reaching there, the men destroyed the house and furniture of Elliott (then known in all that region as "Colonel Elliott"), also ruining his fences, barn, and store-houses.

In thus destroying the property of Colonel Elliott, the Kentuckians were prompted by right motives, but acted upon erroneous information. Elliott (and this must be said to his especial credit) had no hand in the massacre at the River Raisin in urging on Indians, or in any way inciting them to murder prisoners, as the American soldiers who destroyed his property believed;* on the contrary, he was kind to those

* Colonel Elliott's son William, then a captain in the British army, was at the river Raisin; and, because of the course pursued by him, there are some grounds for the belief that he winked at the terrible slaughter. "I

who afterward were so fortunate as to reach Malden, seven of whom he ransomed. Neither can it be charged against Girty that he aided or abetted the bloody work, as was, immediately afterward, reported. He was not on the west side of the river at this period, and could not have taken part either by counseling or otherwise in the butchery of the unfortunate troops. Doubtless had his property been pointed out to the Kentucky detachment, it would likewise have been ruined. There is a current (but erroneous) tradition that his house *was* about to be burned when Simon Kenton stepped forward and declared it should not be done; that Girty was his friend, who had once done him a great kindness; and that, thereupon, the soldiers desisted. But, as we have shown, Kenton was, at this time, with Harrison, and could not, therefore, have interposed to save the property of "his friend."

NOTE I.—"Girty," it has been published, "was an old man when the war [of 1812] commenced, but not too old to encourage a band of Wyandots to rally around Tecumseh and the British standard. After the lapse of many years the aged victor of the Blue Licks, and the remnant of his broken people, were again united against their ancient and inveterate North-western foes. But the health of Girty was shattered, and he was so nearly blind that he could lead no more his dusky hosts to battle, but he dimly saw the flash of the guns which announced the shameful surrender of Hull; stood once again within the stockaded walls of Detroit, to which he had been so long a stranger, and heard the exultant shouts of his lessening tribe as it returned from the bloody massacre of Raisin, a deed which inspired every Kentucky soldier with the feelings of an avenger, revived bitter memories of the Indian

frequently, and on every occasion," said John Todd, surgeon of the Fifth Kentucky Regiment, "urged the British officers to exert themselves and procure the release of the wounded from the Indians—urging the necessity of having their wounds dressed. In a conversation on this subject with Captain Elliott, and while urging it, he replied, 'the Indians are excellent surgeons.'"

tragedies of the past, and with them the name of Girty, which was mentioned again with threats and curses."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 274, 275. (1) If Simon Girty encouraged any Wyandots to rally around the British standard, it must have been those whose homes were near Detroit, for the Ohio Wyandots remained friendly to the United States during the war. Now, of course, the Indians I have first mentioned were not "the remnant of his broken people." That Girty gave encouragement, therefore, to a band of Wyandots more than to other Indians there could be no good reason for, unless he saw no others to encourage. (2) Girty's name was mentioned with threats and curses not simply because there was a bloody massacre at the River Raisin, but for the reason that he was supposed to have taken part in it.

NOTE II.—The following story is related in the *Magazine* (Vol. XV, pp. 271, 272, 275), quoted in the previous note:

"An incident which is thought to have occurred shortly after St. Clair's defeat, and which is given on British authority, indicates that Girty shared the feelings of his tribe [the Sandusky Wyandots] against the horrible practice of burning prisoners. Several captives who had been taken during the recent battle by some of the Indian allies, were condemned to the stake, and, in spite of every influence that Girty could bring to bear, the fatal fires were kindled to the delight of the assembled multitude of drunken braves, screeching squaws, and capering children of all ages. Among the prisoners was an American officer, in whose behalf Girty especially exerted himself, but without effect. Finally, when his doom seemed inevitable, Girty, who was always fertile in expedients, seized a favorable moment when unobserved and dropped him a significant hint. The officer, very fortunately, instantly comprehended it, and, as he was being taken to the stake, he suddenly snatched a papoose from the arms of a squaw and threw it toward the flames where another prisoner was burning. The wildest excitement instantly ensued; men, women, and children fell over each other in the simultaneous rush that was

made to save the baby. The child was rescued, but, in the midst of the frantic and indescribable confusion, the officer made good his escape. To his credit, be it said, that he never forgot his deliverer, and . . . did his best to prove his gratitude in 1812, when the fortunes of war brought trouble to Girty. . . .

"The tide of war turned [that is, the War of 1812], the British fleet was destroyed, Malden was captured, and Girty became a fugitive. But one at least of the soldiers who pursued the retreating forces of Proctor wished the White Indian [Simon Girty] no evil. It was the American officer whose life he had saved by suggesting the desperate expedient of casting the Indian papoose toward the flames. A British authority asserts that, though this officer had retired from the American army, he rejoined it in 1813, with the express purpose of doing his best to protect Girty in the event of his capture. It was an exhibition of that rarest of noble qualities, gratitude, which makes one think better of his race. But the ill-starred Girty, from whom happiness always stood afar off, was denied the pleasure of ever knowing that he had a single friend among the advancing Americans. They never met."

The allusion to a retired American officer being with the army in pursuit of Proctor for the express purpose of doing his best to protect Girty, and that that officer was one who had been saved by a hint from him, makes it certain that the story is but a revamping of the account of Kenton's life having been spared at his solicitation (as before related) when Kenton was a prisoner.

NOTE III.—"Simon Girty was not only not killed at the battle of the Thames, but he was prevented by blindness and rheumatism from taking any part whatever in the engagement. . . . The collapse of the British at the Thames found Simon Girty homeless and a wanderer; but, moved by the same instinct of savage brotherhood which ever characterized him, he sought and found a refuge at a village of the Mohawks on Grand river. This village, which was located in the

midst of some of the finest land in the Dominion, and on probably the most picturesque of Canadian streams, was settled at the close of the American Revolution, under the leadership of Girty's Indian friend and comrade, the distinguished Brandt. It is a singular coincidence that Campbell, the celebrated poet, should have made a mistake about Brandt so similar to the one made by another and more obscure Campbell [John W.] about Girty. In *Gertrude of Wyoming*, 'the monster Brandt' is mentioned as a participant in that cold-blooded massacre, of which Thomas Campbell so touchingly sung, though the fact is established that he was not present on that tragic occasion."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 275, 276. (1) This was written, it is evident, with the erroneous understanding that Girty *followed* the retreating British army. (2) It was not the instinct of savage brotherhood which determined him to choose a village of the Mohawks on Grand river as a temporary place of refuge, but because it was the nearest place of safety. (3) I have not been able to discover that Girty was a comrade of Brant, either in the Revolution or subsequent thereto.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Simon Girty's son Thomas died from being overheated in carrying a wounded British officer from a field of battle,* but what battle is unknown; that he had fought gallantly during the war is generally conceded. At the time of his death, he had three children. These and their father were buried on the Girty farm below Malden, where the family was living.† And now that we have Simon safely domiciled in one of the Mohawk Indian villages, secure from the vengeance of American soldiers, let us turn our attention for the last time to his brothers, James and George.

George married among the Delawares, and had several children. During the latter years of his life, he was an habitual drunkard. He died at a trading post on the Maumee, belonging to his brother James, about two miles below Fort Wayne, near a bend of the river, just before the last war with Great Britain. He was drunk at the time. His family remained with the Delawares. Of his personal appearance there is no account extant. He was, as we have before explained, more of an Indian in habits and proclivities than James. For a number of years after his death, his surviving savage associates, many of them, delighted to talk of his bravery in battle—especially in the conflict on the plains of Sandusky, where the Indians and Rangers encountered the Americans under Colonel Crawford, as previously related, and in the battle of the Blue Licks.

James, who left the Maumee for Canada upon the approach of General Wayne's army, in 1794, remained there until after the treaty of Greenville, in 1795. He then returned, and

* *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 276; *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 126, 127.

† *Statements of Mrs. McCormick, of Pelée Island, and of James Mickle, of Malden.*—*Michigan Pioneer Collections*, loc. cit.

again engaged in trading with the Indians on that river, leaving his family, however, in Canada—in Gosfield, Essex county.* On the 17th of May, 1802, he was granted "Lot No. 8, in Front [First] Concession, Western Division," of that township, amounting to two hundred acres, described as "lying between Cedar creek and Mill creek." Meanwhile, his wife, "Betsey, an Indian woman," of the Shawanese nation, had died. In 1804, when at his home in Gosfield, he made his will.

To his son James and his daughter Ann, who were then living with him, he gave the land, a description of which has just been given, directing how it should be divided between them. He also bequeathed to his son six negro slaves, naming them; and to his daughter, a negro wench "called Sal," likewise a negro woman named Nancy and her five children. As to all the remaining part of his personal estate, including household furniture, cattle, horses, swine, poultry, money, grain, and all other descriptions of personal property, and also all the cattle and other stock which was the property of his "deceased wife Betsey, an Indian woman," and the mother of his children—he directed that the whole be equally divided between his son and daughter, except the utensils of husbandry, which he gave to his son, and a negro named Paul, who was to have his freedom "for his long and faithful services."†

On the 7th of July, 1807, James was granted an additional tract of land—"Lots 23 and 24, in the 6th Concession, Eastern Division," in the same township in which was located the

* "Leaving Languard, you arrive at Point Pelée, or the South Foreland, which makes a great projection into the lake [Erie]; and having doubled that point, you enter the settlements made by the loyalists, in the townships of Mersea, Gosfield, and Colchester."—Smyth's *Topographical Description of Upper Canada* (1799), p. 36.

† The witnesses to the will were T. McKee, T. Alex. Clarke, and Geo. Ironside. The executors named were Leonard Scratch and James Stewart. Girty declares in the will that the slave Nancy was the property of the mother of his children, and intended by her for her daughter Ann. The land bequeathed is bounded by Lake Erie on the south.

first grant. This donation consisted of four hundred acres. To this date, and for some years subsequent thereto, he continued his traffic with the Indians upon the Maumee, but his family, numbering still but his two children, remained in Gosfield. "Mrs. Suttentfield informed the writer," says the historian of Fort Wayne, Indiana, "that she learned some time subsequent to the arrival of herself and husband at the fort here [Fort Wayne], in 1814, that Simon and James Girty had lived for some time prior to the [commencement] of the War of 1812, near the bend of the Maumee, about two miles below Fort Wayne."* It was, however, George instead of Simon who was with James. That it was not Simon is made clear from what Mrs. Suttentfield herself afterward relates; for she avers, as we have seen, that Simon's last visit to Detroit before Hull's surrender was when he swam the Detroit river to escape General Wayne's soldiers (in 1796).† Now, to have traded with the Indians upon the Maumee without having once visited Detroit for the purchase of supplies, or in going to and from his home in Canada, is of course what he would not have done.

James gave up his business upon the Maumee and retired permanently to his Gosfield home in Canada before the beginning of the War of 1812, for the reason that he did not find it so profitable as previous to the Indian War of 1790-95, as the Indian trade had been largely transferred to the Wabash and its tributaries.

The last place where James had a trading-house on the Maumee was at what is known as "Girty's Point," five miles above the present Napoleon, Ohio, near which is "Girty's Island," in the Maumee; both of which received their names from the circumstance of his having been there engaged in traffic with the Indians. After a time Simon was confounded with James as having been the trader there; and some writers have gone so far as to fix the exact spot where he dealt out paints, trinkets, blankets, and "fire-water" to the savages:

* Brice's History of Fort Wayne, p. 185, note.

† Ante, p. 300.

"The notorious Simon Girty once resided five miles above Napoleon, at a place called 'Girty's Point.' His cabin was on the bank of the Maumee, a few yards west of the residence of Mr. Elijah Gunn. All traces of his habitation have been obliterated by culture, and a fine farm now [1846] surrounds the spot."* It is not impossible that the location mentioned was really the site of James's trading-house.

During the War of 1812-15, James was too old and infirm to take part, notwithstanding it has been repeatedly asserted that he was in the battle of the Thames. He died on the 15th of April, 1817. During his last years he suffered much from rheumatism. He had always been thrifty, and had turned his intercourse with the Shawanese and other Indian tribes to good account, as he had accumulated at his death considerable property, largely the result of his labors as trader with them, although the grants of land which he obtained and the proceeds of his farming operations tended materially to increase his store; all of which, as he made no other will than the one already described, descended to his two children, both of whom survived him.

Through life James, unlike Simon and George, was temperate in his habits. He was tall in stature, and lithe in limb. His general character has been generally painted by those who have written of him as bad; and his course during the Revolution exhibits him as a man of sanguinary spirit when impelled by hatred or roused by anger. In his predatory incursions into Kentucky with small war-parties (for that country was his field of operations), he was, from all accounts both published and traditionary, as indiscriminate in his cold-blooded murders as the most ferocious savage—as the most blood-thirsty of the warriors with whom he was associated. Neither age nor sex was spared at his hands. He would often boast, it is said, while in the wilderness, that no woman or child escaped his tomahawk, if he got

* Howe's Ohio, p. 246. Compare Knapp's Maumee Valley, [p. 579. In 'An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky (p. 201, note),'] it is incorrectly stated that "Girty's island" was named after Simon Girty.

within reach of the victim. Traders who were acquainted with him related that he never turned on his heel to save a wretched prisoner from torture at the stake; and, though taking no active part himself, would, nevertheless, instruct the Indians in new and more terrible methods of torture!*

NOTE I.—It is incorrectly stated in the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 273, that James, when he took up his abode in Canada, settled on Middle Sister Island: "He settled with his Shawnee squaw, his dogs and his wild young children, on Middle Sister Island not far from his brother [Simon]." So, also, in the Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. VII, p. 127, we have this account: "He [Mr. James Mickle, of Malden] remembers Simon's brother, James Girty, who lived on Middle Sister Island, and raised tobacco and water-melons. He was then living alone."

NOTE II.—As to the death of James, the writer who reports Mr. Mickle's recollection (mentioned in the previous note) says that, according to the latter's statements, he (James) "was either drowned or was found dead in the bush." And this is made still more erroneous in the magazine article: "Shunned by white people, and deserted even by his Indian squaw, the miserable creature [James] lingered on through months of pain and at last was found dead on the beach of Middle Sister Island." (See Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 276.)

* Missouri Gazette, May 7, 1814 (copied in Niles's Weekly Register, Supplement to Vol. IX, p. 181.) The article is before referred to in this narrative. I am inclined to think James has usually been painted worse than he really was, from a desire to heap the Girty odium on his shoulders, to ease the load from his brother Simon's. But of this hereafter.

CHAPTER XXXIII. •

The coming back to his home, just below Malden, in 1816, from his three years residence among the Mohawks and at Burlington Heights, of Simon Girty, was, to him, far from being a pleasant return, for he was totally blind.* While absent, he had not been entirely idle, having, on several occasions, been employed as interpreter by the government. He now spent much of his time at the home of his daughter, Ann, in Amherstburg, whose husband, Peter Govereau, kept there a house of entertainment. "In 1813 [1816]," says Daniel Workman, "I went to Malden and put up at a hotel kept by a Frenchman [Peter Govereau]. I noticed in the bar-room a grey-headed and blind old man. The landlady, who was his daughter [Ann], a woman of about thirty years of age, inquired of me, 'Do you know who that is?' pointing to the old man. On my replying, 'No,' she rejoined, 'It is Simon Girty.' He had then been blind about four years."†

It was reported, immediately after the battle of the Thames,

* The Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 276, says with truth: "Girty shared the whisky and venison of his Indian friends until the close of the war in 1815, when he returned to his solitary farm near Malden. It was solitary indeed. His two daughters were married, and in homes of their own; the son of his heart had died during the war." The son here referred to was Thomas. That author then adds: "And his [Girty's] wife, worn out by his wild and irregular life and Indian-like ways, had left him long ago. Only one of his family, his son Prideaux, lingered about him." But it was Girty's drinking, and that only, which caused his wife to leave him, as before explained. His Indian-like ways no one would be more likely to overlook than Mrs. Girty, who was longer a captive to the savages than was her husband.

† Howe's Ohio, p. 248. It is certain that Mr. Workman is mistaken as to the year of his visit. The age of Mrs. Govereau, and the circumstance of Girty being totally blind, show it to have been not earlier than 1816. Besides, Mr. Workman would scarcely have ventured in Malden in 1813—the most dangerous period for an American to have gone there during the war. He is also in error as to the length of time Girty had been blind.

among the American troops, that Simon was among the killed, and the next year it was so stated in print: "For the last ten years," so runs the account, "he had been crippled with rheumatism, yet he rode to his hunting-grounds in pursuit of game, and would boast that he preserved a war-like spirit in the midst of bodily pain, and would often exclaim, 'May I breathe my last on a field of battle!' In this wish Simon has been gratified; for in the battle of the Moravian towns, on the river Thames, he was cut to pieces by Colonel Johnson's mounted men."* But all this (including his riding "to his hunting-grounds in pursuit of game") is pure fiction.

From the time of Girty reaching home, until late in the summer of 1817, was a period to him not only of darkness to all surrounding objects (deprived, as he was, totally of sight), but of mental gloom. He would manage to obtain occasionally a flask of whisky at Malden, though he seldom drank so much as to be intoxicated. Finally, as if having a premonition that he would live only a few months, he gave up entirely the use of liquor. He was taken suddenly ill on the afternoon of the 15th of February, 1818, and he at once realized fully that he was at the threshold of eternity. He seemed very penitent as his end drew nigh. He listened with the utmost attention to the words of his wife, who was again living with him, and who now administered to his wants as though he had ever been kind to her.† She explained to

* Missouri Gazette, May 7, 1814 (copied in Niles's Weekly Register, Supplement to Vol. IX, p. 181, and already cited). Compare p. 386, post; Perkins's Western Annals, pp. 170, 171, note; Campbell's Biographical Sketches, p. 147; John Mason Brown's Oration, pp. 36, 50; where the error as to Girty's death is repeated. Many recent writers have also helped to perpetuate the mistake. "Over thirty years later he [Richard Johnson] led the Kentucky mounted riflemen at the victory of the Thames, when they killed not only the great Indian chief Tecumseh, but also, it is said, the implacable renegade Simon Girty himself, then in extreme old age."—Roosevelt, in "The Winning of the West," Vol. II, p. 197.

† That Mrs. Girty was a very kind-hearted and most exemplary woman there can be no doubt.

him how he might still obtain pardon for his sins, and prayed earnestly for him at his bedside.

In an article oft-quoted from in these pages, it is said that "he [Girty] had paid no attention to religion as understood by white men; and if he died in any faith at all it was in that of the Indian—a simple trust in the power and goodness of the Great Spirit."* It is true he had paid little heed heretofore to religion, but he understood far more of the Christian's faith than the untutored savage; and, just as he had asked forgiveness of all those near him for any wrongs done them, his perturbed spirit fled its clay tenement.

It was on the 18th of February, 1818, that Simon Girty died. "And so ended the unhappy life of a creature who became, by force of warping circumstances, the anomaly of Western History." He was buried on his farm two days after his decease, his funeral being attended by a detachment of troops from Fort Malden. British soldiers fired a parting salute over his grave. He was laid to rest with military honors and as a loyal subject of Great Britain—but at that very moment his name was held in abhorrence by all Americans who had heard of him! "He died in the winter," says a Canadian writer, "and it was said that his body could not be carried through the gate on account of the snow-banks, and had to be taken over the fence. . . . The place [of burial] can still be pointed out, though it is not inclosed or marked in any way, while a farm-gate swings over the spot."

Going south from Amherstburg some two miles, the traveler sees, as he drives along, a carriage road, the Detroit river to

* Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 277. In "An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusdy" (p. 198), is the following, which conveys an erroneous impression: "[Simon] Girty married in the neighborhood [of Malden] and raised a family. In vain he tried to become a decent citizen, and command some degree of respect. The depravity of his untamed and undisciplined nature was too apparent. He was abhorred by all his neighbors." The same in effect had been previously published of him, and has since been repeated in several works in the West. The truth is, he was on friendly terms with his neighbors, and, when not intoxicated, was far from being shunned by them.

the right and some trees growing between him and the stream; to the left is the farm on which Girty died. The house in which he breathed his last breath was located toward the south-west corner of the tract, while his final resting-place is to the north-east of the spot where his log dwelling stood.*

"The subsequent career," says the most erroneous, probably, of all the accounts ever hitherto published of Girty's death, "of this notorious man is uncertain. It is probable that he was killed by Col. Clayton, in Kentucky. It is related that Girty stole Clayton's wife from his home while the latter was with Forbes and Bouquet in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1757 and 1758. Clayton returned home after the war to find that his wife had been stolen by an Indian, which he devined to be Girty, whereupon he pursued the renegade with a savage thirst for revenge, and finally met the dispoiler of his household on 'the dark and bloody soil of Kentucky,' where, in a desperate contest, Girty was slain!"†

Girty was about five feet nine inches in height. His hair, originally black, turned gray several years before his death. His eyes were black and piercing; his face round and full. His neck, unlike his brother James's, was short, and his whole frame heavy. His intemperance, and the scar upon his forehead, marred, to some extent, his features. It can not be said, however, that he was a repulsive looking man.‡ In his prime, he was very agile.

* For most of these facts, I am indebted to William Charles Mickle, son of William Mickle. Compare, also, the statement of James Mickle as published in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VII, p. 127. "The house that Simon Girty lived in has disappeared. It was a log-house with two windows and a door in front, and one window in the end upstairs."—W. C. Mickle to the writer, January 21, 1887, already cited.

† Wright's *History of Perry County, Pennsylvania*, p. 34.

‡ For published statements of Girty's personal appearance, see Brice's *Fort Wayne*, p. 135, note; *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VII, p. 126; *Wyandotte (Kan.) Gazette*, of April 18, 1872. A decidedly sensational description is by O. M. Spencer: "His dark, shaggy hair; his low forehead; his brows contracted, and meeting above his short, flat nose; his gray, sunken eyes, averting the ingenuous gaze; his lips thin and compressed;

What the feeling of Girty was toward the Americans at the date of his last illness may now be properly spoken of; and as this brings up the whole subject of the ill-will entertained by loyalists in Canada West, it will be considered from that stand-point. During the Revolution (or, as the Tories called it, the Rebellion), many loyalists—some voluntary, others under compulsion—abandoned the United States and retired to Detroit and its vicinity, subsequently settling in Canada, where they received land (as did Simon Girty and his brother James) as a reward for their adherence to the British government; all of which has heretofore been sufficiently disclosed. The aversion with which they regarded the “rebels” did not die out after peace had been declared; and this, of course, was shared in by their children and their children’s children.

At the date of Girty’s decease, a considerable part of the population of Upper Canada consisted of loyalists and their children. It is true that the Americans, after the Revolution, returned their dislike with vehemence, and there was but very little intercourse between them. It so continued to the year 1812, when events culminating in a war between the two countries made both sides in the West still more bitter in their hatred. Girty entertained a deep animosity to the Americans down to the time when death put an end to his career, which was shared in by a large portion of the residents of the county of Essex.

That Girty’s general character tended to recklessness—drunkenness—baseness—there is no question; yet it had many bright spots upon it; hence, it was singularly contra-

and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance;—to me seemed the very picture of a villain.” The delineation in the *Wyandotte Gazette* is by William Walker, and may be found also in *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 199. For an incidental mention of Girty’s “make-up” on a certain occasion during the Revolution, see *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 267: “Nearly six feet tall, straight, strong and broad-chested, with massive head and big black eyes, deeply bronzed by exposure, dressed in savage fashion and adorned with paint, feathers, and all the war-trappings of his tribe, he looked every inch the Indian leader that circumstances and his peculiar talents had made him.”

dictory; and this is the reason why it is so difficult to form a just estimate of it. That he witnessed, during his captivity with the Senecas, the torturing of unfortunate white prisoners, and became familiar with the most horrible barbarities, is evident. Possibly, when these scenes were again enacted before his eyes upon his taking up his abode with the Mingoes during the Revolution, they did not impress him with such detestation as otherwise they would, had he never before witnessed such cruelties; then, their frequency, afterward, made them less odious, until, finally, from indifference he came to enjoy them, particularly as they were inflicted on his hated enemies.

Girty's delight in witnessing, on at least one occasion (that of the burning of Colonel Crawford), the torturing of a dying man—an old acquaintance—who was suffering the most frightful agonies, and his ferociousness while going with small war-parties into border settlements, when there was an indiscriminate killing of inoffensive inhabitants, or capturing of borderers to suffer the most awful cruelties at the stake—in which forays he generally took a leading part—fix upon him the certainty of having become a remorseless foe to his countrymen—as bloodthirsty as he was unpitying. It is certain, also, that he, at least once, when in command of Indians, did not object to having (if indeed he did not order) a white prisoner—Abner Hunt—tortured to death in the most horrid manner. Hence it is, that, as he was a white man—by no means “an Indian in all but the color of his skin”—it is not too strong language to say of him that, in the war for American independence, after he left Pittsburgh, and in the Indian war which followed it, he proved himself, at times, more than a savage in cruelty.

In a general summing up of Girty's character by the author of “Girty. The White Indian,” it is said that no estimate can be either correct or just which does not take into account the influence which captivity and savage training had upon it. This is true; but it is certain, also, that too much stress is here put on the effect of that influence. “How powerful it was,” says that writer, “is shown by the significant facts

that it not only effaced the natural antipathy for the destroyers of his parents, but so perverted his normal instinct of race that he was never again in full sympathy with his own people, while, as far as known, he was always true to the Indians, and retained their confidence and friendship to the end of his days."

"The early settlers," continues the same author, "knowing that he was a white man by birth, but ignorant of his captivity and its effects, very naturally hated and despised him as a renegade. The term, however, does not apply to him in its infamous sense as it applies to Elliott and McKee, who had nothing whatever in common with the Indians, while Girty was one of them in almost every thing but complexion. He was more of a savage than a renegade; more of a Brandt than an Elliott; and took part in the forays and outrages against the whites, not with the cowardice and mean malice of an outcast, but as a leader of his adopted people, and with the bravery and open hatred of an Indian. He was substantially an Indian; was neither better nor worse than an Indian, and should in the main be judged as such."*

It is suggested, in reply, (1) that Girty's bravery and open hatred were of a kindred nature to that which induced Elliott to join with the savages in forays and outrages against the frontier settlements; (2) that he (Girty) was both better and worse than an Indian; (3) that he should be judged of as being at times, after he became a refugee and while engaged in war, a very bad white man—excelling the redman in savagery in this, that his civilized training had been abundantly sufficient to have made it clear to him that he ought to have been more merciful; while the Indian, from his infancy, is taught to thirst for the heart's blood of an enemy. (4) It is safe to say that, wherever Simon Girty was known upon the border, he was also known as having been once a prisoner among the savages; and the bordermen despised him far less for being a renegade than for his (as they believed)

* Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 277.

heartless cruelty. (5) He was the superior of the savage in many ways; and it is believed that the previous pages of this book abundantly prove that he was not substantially an Indian. (6) He was not always true to the Indians, or they to him, as has already been stated; and there is nothing on record showing that he had lost his natural sympathy for white people. (7) The term renegade, in its infamous sense, does not apply to Girty, as the magazine article rightfully asserts; nor does it to McKee or Elliott. Neither one was a vagabond.*

It was early published to the world that to James Girty might "be justly attributed most of the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by his brother Simon" (post, pp. 336, 337). And the descendants of the latter have not been slow to declare that most (if not all) the cruelty charged to Simon rightfully belonged to James.† This trying to shift the burden of savagery from the shoulders of one brother to those of another must wholly fail. That James, during the Revolution, was heartless and ferocious toward the Americans, there can be no question; but the savage acts positively known to have been performed by Simon (and it is upon these alone that a just estimate of his course is to be formed), who shall say can be turned over to the account of James?

NOTE I.—"And here [at the battle of the Thames] also, according to the veracious Campbell [John W., author of *Biographical Sketches*, already cited in this narrative], was ended the checkered career of the notorious White Indian [Simon Girty]. Campbell says: 'It was the constant wish of Girty that he might breathe his last in battle. So it happened. He was at Proctor's defeat on the Thames, and was cut to pieces

* This estimate of Girty is different from that heretofore made by me. See *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, pp. 199, 200.

† "He [Simon Girty] left descendants below Amherstburg, one of whom came to see me some twenty-five years ago, to complain that Simon had been charged with his brother's sins. I was then told my visitor was a man of good character."—James V. Campbell to the writer, July 14, 1884. Compare, also, *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VII, p. 126.

by Colonel Johnson's mounted men." [Compare p. 386, post.] Nearly three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the battle of the Thames occurred, and though in that long period books and pamphlets without number on Western history and the War of 1812 have been published, still, strange to say, in spite of all this investigation, this statement of Judge Campbell was the nearest approach that writers made to the actual truth concerning Girty's death, and was, with one very late exception (Mr. Butterfield) received by all as authentic history."—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 275. Compare, in this connection, as "to the one very late exception," *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 198. But see, also, a previous publication: *Brice's Fort Wayne*, p. 135, note.

NOTE II.—The *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 276, also says: "He [Simon Girty] declined rapidly [in his last illness], but showed no concern whatever about his condition, and bore his sufferings with the proverbial stoicism and fortitude of his adopted race. During the bitter weather prevailing but few bothered themselves about the now desolate and sinking recluse. The remnant of his old tribe, however, did not entirely forget him in his extremity, and occasionally a solitary Wyandot, as seamed and scarred and grizzled as himself, would come to his bedside suddenly and unannounced, take the thin hand of his dying brother 'Katepacomen,' and with tender grasp, but impassive countenance, greet him in the familiar tongue of his dusky people."

As to the remnant of Girty's old tribe not forgetting him in his last illness, and as to a solitary Wyandot now and then taking him by the hand, we may say, that the Detroit Wyandots never had any particular relations with him, and the Ohio Wyandots, in 1818, were very careful to denounce him in unmeasured terms to the whites (see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 194, note); and none, surely, would have gone

all the way to his home to take him by the hand, even had they known of his illness, which, it is very probable, they did not. The magazine article seems to have overlooked the fact that the Ohio Wyandots—those with whom Girty was wont to associate in previous years—were friendly to the United States in the War of 1812-15. That Girty “showed no concern whatever about his condition” when dying, “and bore his sufferings with the proverbial stoicism and fortitude of his adopted race [that is, the red race],” are statements already answered sufficiently, it is believed (ante, pp. 321, 322). The phrases, his “adopted race,” “his old tribe,” “his dying brother,” “his dusky people,” are all given, it is evident, under the mistaken apprehension that he was an adopted Wyandot. That the cold weather prevented some friends from visiting him during his last illness who otherwise would have been by his bedside, is not improbable; but there were with him, besides his wife, his two daughters and their husbands, and his son Prideaux. There were also a number of near neighbors who frequently called. His funeral was a large one. It is wildly erroneous to speak of him as being, on his death-bed, “a desolate and sinking recluse.”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

During the Indian War in the West which followed the Revolution, the reliability and patriotism of Thomas Girty could always be counted on. Having the name of Girty, however, was the cause of some trouble to him. A Frenchman, in 1792, was in jail in Pittsburgh, suspected of being a spy. This was at a time when the whole people of Western Pennsylvania were greatly excited because of the appearance, across the Ohio, of hostile savages. The man acknowledged that he was sent to gain information of the strength of the town, and that he had his orders from Colonel Butler, of Niagara. He also stated, but falsely, that two men of Pittsburgh "were concerned with him—one of them a confidential character in the public service; the other, Tom Girty." But the fact was Thomas took an active part against the savages in this war. He went out several times as a scout in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794, doing valuable service.

Some time previous to 1792, Thomas, with his family, moved across the Alleghany river, never returning to Pittsburgh to live.* On the 22d of May of that year, a white woman was captured by the Indians at Reed's block-house, twenty-five miles from Pittsburgh. During her captivity, which was brief (as she soon escaped), she was asked by one of her savage captors if she knew Thomas Girty; she said she did. The Indian then said that he (Girty) lived near Pittsburgh; that he was a good man, but not so good as his brother (Simon); but that his wife was a bad woman—"she

* It has been published that Thomas resided in Pittsburgh as late as 1793 (see Johnson's statement, as mentioned in Howe's Ohio, pp. 247, 248). He was, it is true, generally credited with still living there instead of *near* there, as he should have been.

tells lies on the Indians, and is a friend to America." * It is thus that the loyalty of the wife of Thomas was made known, strange to say, by a savage. He had heard the account of her probably from the lips of Simon; doubtless it was true. Except the foregoing, nothing has been preserved of Mrs. Thomas Girty. Her life-career is wholly unknown.

The spot chosen by Thomas for his home was afterward known as "Girty's Run," so called because of his living there, and not, as sometimes stated, for the reason that the "Girty family" had there their residence.† The brothers, Simon, James, and George, left Pittsburgh before there were any settlements on the north side of the Alleghany. "The neighborhood of Pittsburgh, across the . . . river," as one account has it, "was the stamping-ground, as the early settlers called it, of the Girtys, and the scenery of that neighborhood still attests their former residence. Girty's Hill is some four or five miles north of the city, and Girty's run flows along its base."‡ But the region thus mentioned was not the "stamping-ground of the Girtys," but of Thomas and his family simply; and the scenery of that neighborhood still attests only *their* "former residence."

Thomas died on Girty's Run.§ He had raised there and in Pittsburgh a respectable family. Two children—John and Nancy—are hereafter incidentally mentioned. The father breathed his last on the 3d of November, 1820. An obituary, published in the Pittsburgh Gazette, although containing errors, mentions some facts concerning the deceased that are of importance, but which have already been given in this narrative. "Could the incidents of his life," says the Gazette, "be collected, they would form a valuable work, and would give a

* Loudon's Indian Wars, Vol. I, p. 90.

† This error is made in An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky (p. 188, note), and in some previous publications.

‡ Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 126.

§ Not at "Squirrel Hill," hereafter described, east of Pittsburgh, as stated in the Magazine of American History, Vol. XV, p. 274; nor do I find that he ever lived there as mentioned on p. 259 of the article just referred to.

proper idea of the intrepidity, enterprise, and heavy suffering of that class of early settlers who were formerly called 'Indian hunters.' " * But Thomas was never an "Indian hunter;" the title belongs to such men as Brady and Wetzel, but not to Girty, or his brothers.

Some strange statements have found their way into print concerning Thomas. Just how many errors can be compressed into a short paragraph, will here be seen: "Thomas Girty, alone, of the four brothers, returned to civilized life. He was one of Brady's spies in the Indian wars after the Revolution, and died, perhaps, in Butler county, Pa., in 1820!" †

John Turner, half-brother of the Girty boys, survived the last of them nearly twenty years. His death occurred at "Squirrel Hill," on the 20th of May, 1840. ‡ The "Hill" spoken of is on the east side of the Monongahela, immediately south of the mouth of Four Mile Run; that is, four miles from the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela. The river bottom is quite narrow there, and the hill is higher than others in the vicinity. Earth-works were raised on it in the summer of 1863, when the Confederates threatened the city. Turner, it is believed, lived near a spring about half a mile back from the front.

Turner made a will on the tenth of the month preceding that in which he died, which was probated and recorded three days after his death. He devised his farm where he lived, of 113 acres, to John McCasslin and Priscilla, his wife, during life, and then in fee to their children. He gave to Prideaux Girty, son of Simon, \$1,000; to his niece, Sarah, sister of Prideaux, then the wife of Joseph Munger, the same sum; to John, son of his half-brother Thomas, \$500; to Nancy Gibson, sister of John, \$100; to Joseph Munger, "for his attention and friendship," \$500; and to Catharine Bealer, one dol-

* Compare Niles's Weekly Register, Vol. XIX, p. 262, already cited in a previous chapter.

† See Newton's History of the Pan-Handle, West Virginia, p. 150.

‡ The date of his decease, I have obtained from a record preserved in Allegheny county, Pennsylvania.

lar.* The fact that the deceased had previously donated a burying-ground to the citizens of the locality where he lived, gave him the reputation of being "the benefactor of Squirrel Hill,"†

In the *Pittsburgh Daily Gazette*, of the date of July, 1858, is a translation of the record previously referred to in this narrative, of John Turner's baptism. "By the way," says the translator, "does not the name of the baptized child, Jean or John Turner, remind some of our old citizens of a tall, upright, active man named John Turner, who used often to be seen walking our streets, and whom, it was always supposed by us boys, had once been a prisoner with the French or Indians? Was our 'John Turner the baptised child?' Of course; the will just mentioned answers that question, beyond any mistake, in the affirmative, as he was the "John Turner" of Squirrel Hill.‡

Catharine Malott Girty, widow of Simon Girty, survived her husband many years. She died in Colchester South, at the home of Joseph Munger,§ in January, 1852. Before 1845, she sued William Mickle for dower in what had so long been the Girty homestead, but was unsuccessful in her suit.|| The papers in the case are not in existence.¶ Mrs. Girty's life was, indeed, a most romantic one. It was a consolation in her old age to know that those of her children who were dead had lived lives of respectability, and that those who were yet living had established, each one, an unsullied reputation.

* John, son of Thomas Girty, is mentioned in *Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany*, p. 122.

† *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, p. 256. The benefaction was made by a deed, executed July 31, 1838.

‡ Compare *Lambing's Register of Fort Duquesne*, p. 96, and his *Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. III, pp. 88, 89. For mention of "Squirrel Hill," see *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 297.

§ William C. Mickle to the writer, January 21, 1887, before cited.

|| *Id.*

¶ MS. letter of James Bartlet, dated December 28, 1886.

APPENDIX.

A.

FIRST PUBLISHED ACCOUNT OF THE GIRTYS.

[Ante, pp. 4, 819.]

“That western portion of Pennsylvania and Virginia bordering on the Ohio has been considered by the Indians as a country highly favored by heaven; covered with every kind of game, it was not to be supposed they would tamely surrender their right to the soil. But when the whites commenced the settlement of Western Virginia—now Kentucky—the spirit of the savage warrior assumed an attitude of phrensy in their attacks which called forth a corresponding spirit to repel. At this period, *the Girtys*, with the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, etc., gave a new character to Indian warfare.

“Old Girty was one of those peasants who early emigrated from Europe to Pennsylvania, in pursuit of liberty and ease; but like many of his fellows, he was incapable of enjoying it; for his hours were wasted in idleness and intemperance, and he was finally knocked on the head by a neighboring boor, who bore off Mrs. Girty as a trophy of his prowess. He had four sons: Thomas, Simon, George, and James.

“George, Simon, and James were taken prisoners by the Shawanese, Delawares, and Senecas, in that war which first developed the military talents of General Washington. George (the supposed son of Colonel C.) was adopted amongst the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. His manners were perfectly Indian, combining with them the daring intrepidity of a frontier white man. His bravery at the battles of Kanawha, Blue Licks, and Sandusky are yet spoken of by his red brethren. In his later days, he resigned himself to intemperance, and died drunk some time ago, on the Miami of the Lakes [Maumee].

“Simon was adopted by the Senecas, and became as expert a hunter as any of them. His character, as related in Kentucky and Ohio, ‘of being a savage, unrelenting monster,’ is much exaggerated. It is true that he joined the Indians in most of their war-parties, and conformed to their mode of warfare, but it is well authenticated that he has saved many prisoners from death. He was considered an honest man, paying his debts to the last cent; and it is known that he has sold his only horse to discharge a claim against him. It is true that he was a perfect Indian in his manners; that his utmost felicity was centered in a keg of rum; that under its influence he was abusive to all around him, even to his best friends. Yet we must recollect that his education was barbarous, and that mankind are more apt to sink into barbarism than they are to acquire the habits of civilized life.

“For the last ten years he had been crippled with rheumatism, yet he rode to his hunting-grounds in pursuit of game, and would boast that he preserved a warlike spirit in the midst of bodily pain, and would often exclaim, ‘May I breathe my last on a field of battle.’ In this wish Simon has been gratified; for in the battle of the Moravian towns, on the river Thames, he was cut to pieces by Co. Johnson’s mounted men. [He lived nearly four years after this was written.]

“James Girty was adopted by the Shawanese, and became an expert hunter, and imbibed as he arrived at manhood the sanguinary spirit of the most ferocious savage, with the vicious habits of the white men with whom he associated. It is said that he joined the Indians in all their attacks on the first settlers of Kentucky; neither age nor sex were spared at his hands; and it was his boast, although unable to walk from rheumatism and other diseases, that neither women nor children ever escaped the tomahawk, if he got within reach of them. Traders who are acquainted with him say that he never turned on his heel to save a wretched prisoner from the torments of the fire, but would rather instruct the Indians in new and more refined torture.

“To this ruthless tiger may be justly attributed most of

the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by his brother Simon. By Elliott and Proctor, James Girty was caressed, for congenial souls ever mingle in sentiment."—Missouri Gazette, May 7, 1814. See pp. 321, 327, ante.

B.

RECORD OF THE BAPTISM OF JOHN TURNER (TRANSLATION).

[Ante, pp. 12-333.]

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, on the eighteenth of August, was baptized with the customary ceremonies by us, Récollet priest, the undersigned chaplain of the king at Fort Duquesne, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, John, of English parentage, aged two and a half years, son of John Turner, an Englishman, and Mary Newton, an Englishwoman, the father and mother being united in lawful wedlock. The god-father was John Hannigan [or Hogan], an Irishman and a Catholic, the god-mother Sarah Foissey, an Irishwoman and a Catholic, who declared they could not sign.

In testimony whereof we have here signed :

FR. DENYS BARON, P. R.,
Chaplain.

C.

MENTION OF GEORGE GIRTY AS A TRADER.

[Ante, p. 21.]

"16th [of July, 1773]. Left Bedford; crossed the Alleghany Mountains; came to a place called the Shades of Death—a damp and lonesome place—and arrived at Stoney creek, in the evening, where we staid all night.

"17th. We had good roads until we came to Laurel-hill;

passed Ligonier, a small town surrounded by extraordinary good land, and put up at Larry Irwin's.

"18th. We traveled a hilly and swampy road, but the land very good. We arrived at Pittsburgh before dark, and put up at Sample's.

"19th. Concluded to rest ourselves and horses. The people here treated us very kindly. We had a conference with Captain White Eyes, a Delaware chief, who was on his return from Philadelphia. He expressed much satisfaction at our arrival, and said he would go with us, but that he was under the necessity of waiting for Joseph Simmons, from Lancaster, who was to bring his goods from there. He informed us that John Gibson, an Indian trader, had set out that morning for Newcomer's town, the place we were going to, and advised us to endeavor to overtake him, as he would be a very suitable person to accompany us.

"20th. We had made preparations to set out early this morning in order to overtake the Indian trader [Gibson]; but, upon inquiry, learned that he had returned and said that John Logan, a Mingo Indian, was lying in wait to kill him. He had returned to town among the Indians for protection. He got Gay-a-shuta, a Mingo chief, and Captain White Eyes to agree to go and see what was the matter with Logan and endeavor to pacify him. White Eyes said he would attend us all the way to Newcomer's town; he thought the behavior of Logan would make us afraid, as he should be were he in our place.—They set out in a canoe; and we, with a Delaware Indian, by land. We crossed the Alleghany branch [river] in a canoe, and our horses swam by the side. When we came near to a place called Logtown, where Logan lay, our guide stopped and hearkened very attentively, though we could not tell what he was listening at; but, before we had proceeded much further, we heard a great noise. Our guide, who could not speak one word of English, made motions to us to stop and retire. He took us up a hollow to some water, where we staid while he went to the camp whence the noise proceeded. He, for our safety, secretly informed George Girty, a trader, where

we were. He [Girty] immediately came to us and conducted us around the camp to the river side. He told us that an Indian had got drunk and fell in the river and was drowned; and that Logan suspected Gibson of making him drunk, and killing him. Soon after we came to the river, Captain White Eyes and our Indian guide came with canoes, and we again swam our horses by the side [of the canoe] over the [Ohio] river, to the house of John Gibson."—From the *Journal of a Mission to the Indians in Ohio, by Friends from Pennsylvania, July–September, 1773*, published in the *Historical Magazine* for 1870, New Series, Vol. 7, pp. 103–107.

D.FICTITIOUS ACCOUNT OF SIMON GIRTY JOINING THE INDIANS IN
1774.

[Ante, p. 28.]

"The two [Simon Girty and another] were acting as scouts in an expedition set on foot by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, in the year 1774, against the Indian towns of the Ohio. The two divisions of the force raised for this expedition—the one commanded by Governor Dunmore in person, the other by General Andrew Lewis—were by the orders of the governor to form a junction at Point Pleasant, where the Great Kanawha empties into the Ohio. At this place, General Lewis arrived with his command on the eleventh or twelfth of September; but after remaining here two or three weeks in anxious expectation of the approach of the other division, he received dispatches from the governor informing him that Dunmore had changed his plan and determined to march at once against the villages on the Scioto, and ordering him to cross the Ohio immediately, and join him as speedily as possible.

"It was during the delay at the Point that the incident occurred which is supposed to have had such a tremendous influence on Girty's after life. He and his associate scout had

rendered some two or three months' service, for which they had as yet drawn no part of their pay; and in their present idleness, they discovered means of enjoyment, of which they had not money to avail themselves. In this strait, they called upon General Lewis in person, at his head-quarters, and demanded their pay. For some unknown cause, this was refused, which produced a slight murmuring on the part of the applicants, when General Lewis cursed them, and struck them several severe blows over their heads with his cane. Girty's associate was not much hurt, but he himself was so badly wounded on the forehead, or temple, that the blood streamed down his cheek and side to the floor. He quickly turned to leave the apartment; but on reaching the door, wheeled around, planted his feet firmly upon the sill, braced an arm against either side of the frame, fixed his keen eyes unflinchingly upon the general, and uttered the exclamation, '*By God, sir, your quarters shall swim in blood for this;*' and instantly disappeared beyond pursuit.

"General Lewis was not very much pleased with the sudden and apparently causeless change which Governor Dunmore had made in the plan of the expedition. Nevertheless, he immediately prepared to obey the new orders, and had given directions for the construction of rafts, upon which to cross the Ohio, when, before daylight on the morning of the tenth of October, some of the scouts suddenly entered the encampment with the information that an immense body of Indians was just at hand, hastening upon the Point. This was the force of the brave and skillful chief, Cornstalk, whose genius and valor were so conspicuous on that day, throughout the whole of which raged the hardly contested and most bloody '*Battle of the Plains.*'

"Girty had fled from General Lewis immediately to the chief, Cornstalk, foresworn his white nature, and leagued himself with the red man forever; and, with the Indians, he was now advancing, under the cover of night, to surprise the Virginian camp."

E.**OATHS TAKEN BY SIMON GIRTY WHEN COMMISSIONED SECOND
LIEUTENANT UNDER MAJOR JOHN CONNOLLY.**

[Ante, p. 31.]

“1. I, Simon Girty, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third. So help me God.

“2. I, Simon Girty, do swear that I from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated and deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

“3. I, Simon Girty, do declare that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine at or after the consecration thereof, by any person or persons whatever. So help me God.

“4. I, Simon Girty, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord, King George the Third, is lawful and rightful king of this realm and all other his Majesty's dominions thereunto belonging.

“And I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James, and since his decease pretending to be and takes upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatever to the crown of this realm or any other the domin-

ions thereunto belonging, and I do renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him.

"And I do swear that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity, and I will do my utmost endeavors to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his successors all treason and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against him or any of them.

"And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to support, maintain, and defend the succession of the crown against him, the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, which succession (by an act entitled an act for the further limitation of the crown and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject) is and stands limited to the Princess Sophie, late Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants—and all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever, and I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, abjuration, renunciation, and promise heartily, willingly, and truly upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God."

F.

"LETTING LOOSE THE HORRIBLE HELL-HOUNDS OF SAVAGE WAR."

[Ante, p. 42.]

"SIR:—In consideration of the measures proper to be pursued in the next campaign, the making a diversion on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, by parties of Indians conducted by proper Leaders as proposed by Lt. Gov. Hamilton has been maturely weighed.

“ That officer in his Letter to the Earl of Dartmouth dated at Detroit the 2d of September last, that he had then with him Deputies from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Senecas, Delawares, Cherokees, and Pouattouattamies. That their inclination was for War and that it was with much difficulty he had restrained them from Hostilities, which he thought it his duty to do, finding by a letter from you dated the 19th of July, that you had sent back some Ottawas, who had offered their Services desiring them to hold themselves in readiness next Spring.

“ There can be little doubt that the Indians are in the same disposition and that they will readily and eagerly engage in any Enterprize in which it may be thought fit to employ them under the direction of the King’s officers, and as it is His Majesty’s resolution that the most vigorous Efforts should be made, and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majesty’s Hands, for crushing the Rebellion & restoring the Constitution it is the King’s Command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his District as he conveniently can, and placing proper persons at their Head, to whom he is to make suitable allowances, to conduct their Parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected and inoffensive Inhabitants, employ them in making a Diversion and exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

“ And as there is good ground to believe there are considerable numbers of loyal subjects in those Parts who would gladly embrace an opportunity of delivering themselves from the Tyranny and oppression of the Rebel Committees; it is His Majesty’s pleasure that you do authorize and direct Lieut Govr Hamilton to invite all such loyal subjects to join him & to assure them of the same pay and allowances as are given to His Majesty’s Corps raised in America and that such of them as shall continue to serve His Majesty until the Rebellion is suppressed and peace restored shall receive His Majesty’s Bounty of 200 Acres of Land. These offers it is to be hoped will induce many Persons to engage in the King’s Service; which

may enable Lt. Gov. Hamilton to extend his operations, so as to divide the attention of the Rebels, and oblige them to collect a considerable Force to oppose him, which can not fail of weakening their main army & facilitating the operations directed to be carried on against them in other Quarters, and thus bring the War to a more speedy Issue and restore those deluded People to their former State of Happiness and prosperity, which are the favorite wishes of the Royal Breast and the great object of all His Majesty's measures.

"A supply of presents for the Indians & other necessities will be wanted for this Service, and you will of course send Lieut. Govr. Hamilton what is proper and sufficient.

"Inclosed is a List of the Names of several Persons residing on the Frontiers of Virginia, recommended by Lord Dunmore for their Loyalty and attachment to Government, and who His Lordship thinks will be able to give great assistance to Lieut. Gov. Hamilton through their extensive Influence among the Inhabitants."—Lord George Germain, from White Hall, March 26, 1777, to Sir Guy Carleton, and sent to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, from Quebec, May 21st, following.

G.

SIMON GIRTY AND THE SIEGE OF FORT HENRY, WHEELING,
IN 1777.

I.

GIRTY INVESTS THE FORT—A MYTHICAL ACCOUNT.

[Ante, p. 43.]

"In the early part of September [1777], it was ascertained that an immense Indian army was concentrating on the Sandusky river, under the direction of the notorious white renegade, Simon Girty. This scheming outlaw had almost unbounded command over the Wyandots, and was so far influential with the Mingoes and Shawanese as to secure a large accession to his force from the warlike tribes. The Indian

army was well appointed, having received an abundant supply of arms and ammunition from Governor Hamilton, at Detroit. Girty himself was armed by this enlightened functionary with full power to grant protection, if he saw fit, to such of the settlers as might choose to swear allegiance to the British crown, and was furnished by the governor with a proclamation, under his own hand, guaranteeing the royal pardon to every rebel who would accept the boon which Girty was authorized to offer. The savage host, numbering, by various estimates, from three hundred and eighty to five hundred warriors, having completed every preparation for their campaign, left the Sandusky upper village, and took up their line of march in the direction of Limestone, in Kentucky.

"Ignorant and cowardly, as many represent Girty to have been on the field of battle, he certainly possessed a degree of cunning when not in the immediate presence of danger, which served to keep him high in the confidence of the Indians throughout the chief part of his military career. The manner in which he conducted the march of his army evinces the high order of his sagacity, and the craftiness of his management; for, although Colonel Shepherd [at Wheeling] kept constantly in service a body of the most trusty and experienced scouts that ever figured in border warfare, Girty succeeded in deceiving them as to the point of his destination, and actually brought his whole force before the walls of Fort Henry before his real design was discovered."—*American Pioneer*, Vol. II, p. 305.

II.

SIMON GIRTY AND THE ATTACK ON FORT HENRY, 1777.

[From *Magazine of American History*, Vol. III, p. 513.]

"J. E. Cook, in his *Stories of the Old Dominion*, repeats the old story that Simon Girty led the Indians in their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. Where and when this story originated I have never been able to ascertain. Withers, in his *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, published in 1881, asserts it, and De Hass, in his *History of Indian Wars in Western Virginia*, repeats it. McKnight, in *Our Western Border*,

contradicts the story, but says: 'It must have been George or James Girty who were living among the savages.' Now the fact is not one of the Girtys was with the Indians at the time of their attack on Fort Henry in September, 1777. There is no historical fact better established than the dates of the desertion of Simon, James, and George Girty. Thomas Girty never did desert. Col. George Morgan was Indian agent for the Middle Department of the United States during the Revolution, with his headquarters at Fort Pitt, and his Journal proves that Simon and James Girty were employed by him as Indian Interpreters; it also shows that on the 28th of March, 1778, Simon Girty deserted with McKee and Elliott, and that at that time James was on a message to the Shawanese for Colonel Morgan, and was induced to desert the cause of his country and attach himself to the interest of his brother Simon. See Hildreth's Pioneer History, pp. 129-30. The muster-roll of Capt. James Willing's company of marines, at the time under Gen. George Rodgers Clark, now in the State Archives at Harrisburg, shows that George Girty was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in said company on the 6th of February, 1778, and that he deserted May 4, 1779. See Potter's American Monthly, VII, 388. There is other evidence, but this is sufficient to prove that none of the Girtys could have led the attack on Fort Henry in September, 1779.

ISAAC CRAIG.

"ALLEGHANY, PA."

H.

SIMON GIRTY'S VISIT TO THE SENECA TOWNS UP THE ALLEGHANY, IN THE FALL OF 1777.

[Ante, p. 45.]

"[Mentions James Kelly and Thomas Nicholson going with messages to the Delawares.] Simon Girty, another messenger, who was also sent by you with messages to the Seneca towns on the head of the Alleghany, returned and informed me that he went to the towns without meeting any Indians, though, by

the marks of the warriors on the roads, he could discover they had been at war: that, on his arrival there, he acquainted them with the success of our army at the northward, and asked them if they had not heard of it. They replied that they had not. He then told them that they might depend on it for truth, and desired them to sit still, as they would hear it in a few days from their own people. They then told him they looked upon him as a spy, and that they would take him to Niagara. They then informed him that all the Western Indians had taken up the tomahawk against the Americans, excepting White Eyes and a few Delawares, and that they would be ready to strike in the spring.

“He then learned that seven parties were actually out against our frontiers; that Gu-a-sho-ta had been twice at war against our settlements; that he killed four people near Ligonier; that the White Mingo had also been at war; that the Flying Crow brought in a white woman, daughter of Dudley Daugherty, who was taken near Ligonier whilst he was there, and some scalps; that All-Face, the head warrior, was out with a party of twenty-five men. That the evening before they were to set off for Niagara, he pretended to hunt his horse, and after going out he returned in a great hurry, saying he saw a flock of turkeys and snatched up his gun and came away. That in the night he came to another town on the river where he got a canoe and came by water. That near the Kittanning, early in the morning, an Indian from the shore, hailed him and asked him who he was; that he told him his name was a chief’s name whom he left in the towns; that the Indian told him he lied, that he knew him to be Girty and desired him to come to shore; that on his refusal he fired several shots at him. Girty says he thinks they will wait to hear from the northward, as they are guided by a chief of the Senecas there; and the surrendering of Burgoyne’s army will have a good effect upon them.”—Colonel John Gibson, from Fort Pitt, to General Hand (absent), December 10, 1777.

I.

THE REASON WHY GENERAL HAND GAVE UP HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION TO FRENCH CREEK, IN THE SPRING OF 1778.

[Ante, p. 51.]

“FORT PITT, *March* 30, 1878.

“DEAR CRAWFORD:—I received your favor of yesterday and am sorry for the accident that befell Mr. DeCamp, and send the doctor to his assistance.

“You will no doubt be surprised to hear that Mr. McKee, Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, one Surphilt and Higgins, with McKee’s two negroes, eloped on Saturday night. This will make it improper to proceed on the intended expedition to French creek, which I beg you may give the proper notice of to the gentlemen who are preparing for it; and as your assistance may be necessary towards preventing the evils that may arise from the information of these runaways, I beg you may return here as soon as possible.

“I am, dear Crawford, sincerely yours,

“EDW’D HAND.

“COL. WM. CRAWFORD.”

J.

CONCERNING CERTAIN ORDERS SAID TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN BY GEN. HALDIMAND TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR HENRY HAMILTON WHILE AT DETROIT.

“Hamilton and his subordinates, both red and white, were engaged [in 1778] in what was essentially an effort to exterminate the borderers. They were not endeavoring merely to defeat the armed bodies of the enemy. They were explicitly bidden by those in supreme command to push back the frontier, to expel the settlers from the country. Hamilton himself had been ordered by his immediate official superior to assail the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia with his sav-

ages, to destroy the crops and buildings of the settlers who had advanced beyond the mountains, and to give his Indian allies,—the Hurons, Shawnees, and other tribes,—all the land of which they thus took possession.”—*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pages 5 and 6. And the author of that work cites, in support of what he writes, Haldimand to Hamilton, August 6, 1778: Haldimand MSS.

I find nothing in the orders given by Haldimand to Hamilton which authorizes the assertion that the latter, and his subordinates, “were explicitly bidden . . . to push back the frontier, to expel the settlers from the country;” nor do I find that Hamilton had been ordered “to assail the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia with his savages, to destroy the crops and buildings of the settlers who had advanced beyond the mountains, and to give his Indian allies,—the Hurons, Shawnees, and other tribes,—all the land of which they thus took possession.” The whole matter was this: On the 25th of April, 1778, Hamilton wrote Carleton that the Hurons, and those at Sandusky (meaning the Detroit and Sandusky Wyandots), had lately told him that they expected what lands they should drive the rebels (Americans) from would be vested in them by right of conquest. “I told them,” says Hamilton, “that was a point I could not pretend to decide, but that I should write to your Excellency, and [I would] inform them what answer I should receive.”

In General Haldimand’s answer, he says that it would “be good policy to give the savages the entire property of all lands they should conquer from the rebels, provided they make such conquests without any expense to his Majesty and that it does not interfere with any rights or claim of the Five Nations or any other nation of Indians, whom it is our business to keep united as much as possible, not to lay foundation of division amongst.” Now, these provisos would certainly have rendered wholly null any offer that Hamilton could have made; besides, when he received the order, he was too busy in preparing to move against George Rogers Clark in the Illinois, to give Haldimand’s answer to the Wyandots. Any attempt, there-

fore, or part of Hamilton, to instigate Indians to do any of the acts mentioned by Roosevelt in the extract just given, against "well affected and inoffensive inhabitants" "upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia," would have been in excess of the orders given him by his superiors.

K.

KENTON AND THE MINGO LOGAN.

[Ante, pp. 79-84.]

In speaking of Kenton and his two companions' movements after first crossing the Ohio, McDonald says, that they "proceeded cautiously to Chillicothe." That this was the Chillicothe situated on the Little Miami, in the present county of Greene, Ohio, is certain from what he afterward says: "From Chillicothe to Wapatomika they had to pass through two other Indian towns, to wit: Pickaway [Piqua] and Machecheek [Mac-a-cheek]." But this would not have been the case, had he been at the other Chillicothe—Old Town—in what is now Ross county, Ohio.

McDonald's account of Girty's speech, interceding the second time for Kenton, is even more absurd than McClung's recital of his first speech. "He told them that he had lived with them several years; that he had risked his life in that time more frequently than any of them; that they all knew that he had never spared the life of any one of the hated Americans; that they well knew that he had never asked for a division of the spoils; that he fought alone for the destruction of their enemies."

McDonald declares that Logan sent his young men to Upper Sandusky with a message to Peter Druyer; that the latter, a British captain, "connected with the British Indian agent department," also an interpreter, had great influence with the Indians; that he concluded to make an effort to save the prisoner; and finally succeeded by their consenting to have him taken by the captain to Detroit, to be brought back

to Upper Sandusky, after being examined by the commanding officer at the former place. Now, if this be true, then the honor of having finally saved Kenton from the stake is due jointly to Simon Girty, the Mingo Logan, and Peter Druyer—by no means to Logan alone. Both McDonald and McClung say that Girty induced the savages to send the prisoner to Sandusky, and that upon the return of the runners sent by Logan to that town, he (Logan) gave to Kenton no information as to the result of his effort in his behalf; but McClung says that “from Logan’s manner he [Kenton] supposed that his intercession had been unavailing, and that Sandusky was destined to be the scene of his final suffering. This appears to have been the truth.” The weight of evidence is, therefore, against Logan having succeeded, and in favor of Girty and Druyer being the only persons who were instrumental in finally saving the prisoner.

L.

LOCHRY’S DEFEAT.

[Ante, pp. 129, 130.]

I.

ROOSEVELT’S ACCOUNT—GEORGE GIRTY IGNORED.

“One body of Pennsylvanians that did go [to join Clark down the Ohio] met with an untoward fate. This was a party of a hundred Westmoreland men under their county lieutenant, Col. Archibald Loughry. They started down the Ohio in flat-boats, but having landed on a sand-bar to butcher and cook a buffalo that they had killed, they were surprised by an equal number of Indians under Joseph Brant, and being huddled together, were all slain or captured with small loss to their assailants. Many of the prisoners, including Loughry himself, were afterward murdered in cold blood by the Indians.”—*The Winning of the West*, Vol. II, p. 117. [Roosevelt gives his authorities.] It will be noticed that George Girty’s name is not mentioned. But see the following :

II.

THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF CAPTAINS MCKEE AND THOMPSON.

[From Vermont Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II, pp. 342, 343.]

"CAMP NEAR THE OHIO, *August 29, 1781.*

"SIR:—The 26th you had inclosed an account that Captain Brandt and George Girty, with the Indians, advanced upon the Ohio, [and] had taken one of Clark's boats after having passed down the river in the night. Not thinking themselves in number sufficient to attack him, and having found by his orders to Major Craigcroft [Major Charles Cracraft] that more troops were to follow under the command of a Colonel Lochry, [they] lay in wait for them, attacked and took the whole, not allowing one to escape. Agreeable to a return, it appears there have been thirty-seven killed, amongst whom is Lochry, their commandant, with some officers.

"This stroke, with desertions, will reduce Clark's army much, and if the Indians had followed advice and been here in time, it is more than probable he would have been now in our possession with his cannon.

"The prisoners seem to be ignorant of what his intentions are. Perhaps loss may oblige him to change his measures. However, we shall endeavor to keep the Indians together, and watch his motions. His first intention was to penetrate to Sandusky through the Indian country, from whence the troops from Fort Pitt were to return home and he to Kentucky.

"We are, with great respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

"A. THOMPSON,

"ALEX'R MCKEE.

"TO MAJOR DEPEYSTER."

[The Vermont Historical Society obtained a copy of the original from the Haldimand Papers.]

M.

WHY THE MORAVIAN MISSIONARY ESTABLISHMENTS ON THE
TUSCARAWAS WERE BROKEN UP.

[Ante, p. 133.]

An expedition against the Virginia border, and especially Fort Henry at Wheeling, had been determined upon at Sandusky, with the approval of De Peyster, to be carried on under the lead of Captain Elliott, by a considerable war-party of savages, with whom was to march a small number of English and French. Heckewelder, in his *Narrative*, pp. 231, 232, says the expedition was intended against the Christian ("Moravian") Indians. (See also Schweinitz' *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, pp. 489, 490.) But nothing could be further from the truth. On the 18th of August, 1781, Zeisberger dispatched a messenger to Colonel Brodhead, the commander at Fort Pitt, with a written message to the effect that a large number of Indians—about two hundred and fifty in all—was approaching the settlements with the intention, probably, of going to Wheeling, but they might attack some of the other posts. "They will try," said he, "to decoy the garrison out where they will lie in ambush." "The party is headed," continued the missionary, "by Matthew Elliott and a few English and French. The Indians are Wyandots, Delawares, Monseys, and a small number of Shawanese." "You will be careful," he added, "not to mention that you had this intelligence from our towns; for it would prove dangerous for us if the Indians should get knowledge of it; which might happen by a prisoner if they should take one." But this admonition was unheeded.

"Last evening I was honored with your obliging letter," was the response of Brodhead to the missionary, "for which be pleased to accept my best thanks. We shall be upon our guard and give the wicked a warm reception." The commanding officer at Fort Henry (Wheeling) was soon informed

by Brodhead of the coming of the enemy. "You will immediately put your garrison in the best posture of defense," he wrote, "and lay in as great quantity of water as circumstances will admit, and receive them coolly. They intend to decoy your garrison, but you are to guard against stratagem, and defend the post to the last extremity." "You must not fail," he added, "to give the alarm to the inhabitants within your reach, and make it as general as possible, in order that every man may be prepared at this crisis." Brodhead also sent letters to the county lieutenants and one to the commandant of Fort McIntosh, with information of the threatened attack.

As might be expected, the excitement was intense all along the border. Fort Henry was immediately placed in a proper condition for defense. The borderers every-where put themselves in readiness to meet the foe. "The country has taken the alarm," wrote Brodhead, "and several hundred men are now in arms upon the frontier." It was not long before the Indians made their appearance, as was expected, in the vicinity of Wheeling, being but a part, however, of those who were at the "Moravian" Indian towns. Of three boys outside of Fort Henry, at the time, one was killed, and one—David Glenn—was made prisoner. The other effected his escape inside the fortification, slightly wounded. In a moment, the garrison was ready to receive the savages. The latter, seeing the borderers fully prepared for them, soon disappeared, doing but little mischief, except killing all the cattle they could find. Their depredations up Wheeling and Buffalo creeks, however, were, before they re-crossed the Ohio, much more serious. They killed and captured several persons.

The intelligence sent by Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, to Brodhead was not well kept. The captured boy, Glenn, informed the savages "that the garrison at Wheeling and the country in general were alarmed and on their guard; that they had been notified of the intention of the Indians by letters sent to Pittsburgh by the Moravian ministers. This exasperated the warriors so much that they took the missionaries prisoners, tied them, and destroyed every thing they had,

and ordered the whole of the Moravian Indians to get up and move off with their families, or they would cut them all off, which they were obliged to consent to." The day after the arrest of the ministers, another party of savages returned from the border settlements to Gnadenhütten, bringing with them as prisoner a white man who had been captured some distance from Wheeling. He corroborated the story of the boy-prisoner as to the missionaries having sent word to Fort Pitt of the intentions of the Indians.

The missionary establishments upon the Tuscarawas were thus broken up, news of which was brought to Fort Pitt by a "Moravian" Indian woman who made her escape from the warriors and came into that place on the 7th of September. (See Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 58-60, where the real reason for the breaking up of these missionary establishments is for the first time published.)

N.

SIMON GIRTY AND COLONEL CRAWFORD ON THE SANDUSKY.

[Ante, pp. 169, 170, 172-175, 179, 180, 183.]

I.

DID GIRTY EXERT HIMSELF TO SAVE CRAWFORD?

"Simon Girty, who had been a prominent leader in the conflict [on the Sandusky Plains], and who witnessed this terrible scene [of torturing Crawford], had known Crawford during the Dunmore war; had often enjoyed his hospitality, and, tradition says, had even formed a romantic attachment for his daughter. It is therefore easy to believe that the blackest thing that has ever been alleged against him is that he not only did not save the tortured and slowly-dying colonel, but answered him with a mocking laugh when he begged him to shoot him and relieve him of his agony. It is said that even the devil is not as black as he is painted, and it is possible that the same may be said of Girty. Exactly how far his

savage and perverted nature carried him on this occasion will never probably be accurately known, but the commonest principles of justice require that some things that are known should be stated. It should be remembered right at the beginning that Crawford was a prisoner of the Delawares, and that they only could therefore decide his fate; and that he was burnt at a Delaware town and in retaliation for an outrage upon Delawares, for the Moravians ['Moravian' Indians] were of that tribe. The statement printed time and again that the ill-fated colonel was burnt by Girty's tribe, the Wyandots, betrays a gross ignorance, both of the transaction itself, and of the customs peculiar to the different tribes of that day. The writer was not surprised therefore that a Canadian descendant of Wyandot Indians, with whom he corresponded, should energetically protest that his ancestral tribe did not at that time, if ever, burn prisoners of war. Regarded simply from a tribal stand-point, Girty had no authority whatever to release Crawford. As to the influence which he might have exerted in favor of the condemned man, that is another matter, for he was certainly a person of no little power and importance among the Indians at that time. Dr. Knight, who was captured with Crawford and witnessed his tortures, and who has long been accepted as a most reliable authority on this subject, while he says that Girty refused the prayer of the tortured man to shoot him and, 'by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene,' does not make him in any way an assistant at it. On the contrary, he even asserts that Crawford said to him: 'Girty has promised to do all in his power for me, but the Indians are very much inflamed against us.' An examination of the principal authorities on this subject will convince any unprejudiced person that Girty was true to his promise to Crawford, but that he was utterly powerless to save him. Heckewelder, who certainly had not one spark of love for Girty, and whose testimony is unimpeachable, says of Crawford: 'It was not in the power of any man, or even body of men, to save his life.' Wingemund, a Delaware chief, when appealed to by Crawford, replied: 'If Will-

iamson had been taken you might have been saved, but, as it is, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf; the King of England, if he were to come in person, could not save you; we have to learn barbarities from you white people.' (See Howe, 547.) If the statements of the savage but brave and manly Wyandots are to be believed, Girty did not forget the sacred obligations of accepted hospitality, but remembered old ties in Crawford's case as he did in Kenton's. McCutchen, who claims to have obtained his information from Wyandots, says, in the *American Pioneer*, that Girty tried to save Crawford at the only time when it was possible to do it, viz., the night before his capture. That he went to him in Indian dress, and, under a flag of truce, warned him that he would be surrounded that night, and told him how he might escape; that Crawford tried to act on his advice, but that his men were too much demoralized to carry out the plan. After saying this, McCutcheon strangely adds that afterward, as a matter of speculation, Girty offered the Delaware war chief, Pipe, three hundred and fifty dollars for Crawford, but was himself threatened with the stake for his interference; that he was afraid after that to show the sympathy he felt for the doomed man, but sent runners, however, to the Lower Sandusky, to traders there, to hasten to buy Crawford, but that he was fatally burned by the time they arrived. The latest contribution to this subject is from the venerable Mrs. McCormick, of Pelee Island, now in her ninety-sixth year, and it is doubly interesting from the fact that she was not only personally acquainted with Simon Girty, but received her information directly from her mother-in-law, who was captured by the Ohio Indians when she was about grown, and was at the Delaware town when Crawford was burnt. Mrs. McCormick kindly sent the writer the following statement, often repeated to her by her mother-in-law, in recounting the incidents of her captivity. She says: 'I have often heard my mother-in-law speak of Simon Girty. She both saw and heard him interceding with the Indian chief for the life of Colonel Crawford, and he offered the chief a beautiful horse which he had with him, and

the stock of goods he then had on hand, if he would release him, but the chief said "No! If you were to stand in his place it would not save him." She also went to see Colonel Crawford, and talked with him, and he told her that Girty had done all he could to save his life.' 'This was no Kenton case. Crawford had invaded the Indian country with the declared intention of granting no quarter, and, what was even worse in the eyes of the infuriated savages, his intimate associate and right-hand man was the guilty Williamson. Crawford was burnt by the Delawares in retaliation for the wanton and cowardly massacre of their Moravian kindred ['Moravian' Indians], and there was no hope for him from the moment of his capture. Authorities differ as to the motives which actuated Girty's conduct toward Crawford, but close inquiry renders positive the declaration that Girty was not only powerless to save him, but that he would have endangered his own life if he had persisted in an open effort to do so.'—*Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV, pp. 264–266.

To understand fully the part enacted by Simon Girty in connection with the captivity and torturing of Colonel Crawford, it is necessary to bear in mind one fact, which no historian can, and which nothing but a fiction has presumed, to gainsay, and that is, that the two met for the first time on the Sandusky Plains at the Half King's town during the night of the tenth of June. This Girty never denied; on the contrary, he stated within two or three days thereafter, by inference, that he saw him there. And he also related what the colonel said to him (ante, p. 183). It must not be forgotten that this place of meeting was about eight miles to the eastward of the spot where the next night the torturing of Crawford took place. Much confusion has arisen from confounding this first meeting with the second one between them, which last was in the afternoon of the next day, and near Captain Pipe's village on the Tymochtee—a difference of nearly one day in time and of nearly eight miles in distance. As to the first meeting, the writer of the article just quoted from only gives what is said above by him—that is, he relates the Mo-

Cutchen tradition simply, which is fiction (*ante*, p. 170). Crawford did not meet Girty until five days after his capture.

We have already given the facts and probabilities concerning what took place at the Half King's town—what Girty promised and the reasons for believing that he did not make good his promise (*ante*, pp. 173–175). Nevertheless, it is said in the foregoing extract that “an examination of the principal authorities on this subject will convince any unprejudiced person that Girty was true to his promise [to do all he could for Crawford] but that he was utterly powerless to save him.” Now, the trouble with this is, there are no “principal authorities on this subject,” except Girty himself, in what he told Captain Caldwell, and he is silent about any promise—silent at a time when, to be so, is equivalent to a confession that he did not carry out what he promised (*ante*, p. 183). What is said in the extract above about Heckewelder gives not the slightest clue to any supposed effort being made on part of Girty. As to “Wingemund's” declaration to Crawford that “no man would dare to interfere in your [Crawford's] behalf”—that is Heckewelder speaking and not the Delaware chief (see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, pp. 342, 356–361). But, if “Wingemund” really said so, and it was true, what becomes of the oft-repeated assertion of Girty and others, made in after years, that he (Girty) did in fact do all he could to save Crawford? This much of the first meeting. Let us now examine what is said as to the second one.

“Exactly how far,” says the foregoing extract, “his [Girty's] savage and perverted nature carried him on this occasion [the torturing of Crawford] will never probably be accurately known.” But it is suggested that Dr. Knight's relation of what he saw and heard of the renegade upon that occasion makes it extremely clear just “how far his savage and perverted nature carried him.” As to “the latest contribution to this subject” “from the venerable Mrs. McCormick,” who got her information from her mother-in-law, it may be

said that doubtless the aged lady first mentioned, recited what she remembered, as nearly as she could, of the conversation of another person who "was at the Delaware town when Crawford was burnt." This second-handed tradition impeaches itself, as already shown (ante, p. 175); besides, is it to be presumed that she (the mother-in-law) "went to see Colonel Crawford, and talked with him, and he told her that Girty had done all he could to save his life"—in view of what is related by Dr. Knight as to Girty's behavior? It could not have been so. "This," it is said in the extract above "was no Kenton case. Crawford had invaded the Indian country with the declared intention of granting no quarter." Surely nothing can be farther from the fact than this (see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 158, note). "And what was even worse in the eyes of the infuriated savages," continues the extract, "his [Crawford's] intimate associate and right hand man was the guilty Williamson." But it is morally certain that neither Captain Pipe nor Wingenund nor any of the residue of the Delawares knew, at the time of the torture, either that Williamson led the militia to Gnadenhütten or that he was along with Crawford. The extract, it will be seen, also avers that "authorities differ as to the motives which actuated Girty's conduct toward Crawford [at the burning]." This is to be taken with a good deal of allowance. Only one writer (Lyman C. Draper) is reported as having ascribed any "motives" at all to Girty's conduct, and he evidently volunteers to give what, in his (Draper's) mind seems likely, without having any evidence to support it.

II.

SIMON GIRTY TO COLONEL CRAWFORD AT THE STAKE.

[The following, by Frank Cowan (see *Southwestern Pennsylvania in Song and Story*, pp. 93-100), is inserted as a curiosity.]

You say I am accursed. I am accursed.
Of all the damned on earth, I am the worst.

And it is well I am, that you receive
Your just deserts which only I can give.

Compared with me, the Delaware is tame—
A suckling wolf—a savage but in name.

The great is grown alone within the great ;
A Girty can alone the White create.

The Delaware had killed you at a blow ;
But I despise his mercy—and am slow !

Speed seldom makes a single wise reflection,
While Haste is very careless in selection.

You are within your life a brother man,
Or good or bad, as but a brother can.

But in this pastime you will play the Good,
And I the Evil, of the White Man's blood.

You, naked as at birth, bound with a thong,
Will symbolize the Right enthralled by Wrong.

While I, in savage guise, will play my part,
The unseen Savage of the White Man's heart.

Nay, friend ; your role is easy—While I speak,
'Tis but to writhe in pain about a stake.

Your face is blacked, with that of others here,
That in your fate your own may now appear.

Behold ! the tomahawk sinks in the brain
Of all so marked—The inference is plain.

Nay, shudder not and shriek. All men must die.
You are not an exception—nor am I.

But you, the chieftain of these slaughtered men,
Are blessed above them all—in knowing when.

That in anticipation you may feel,
A thousand times, the keen-edged butchering steel.

What ! groan beneath the blows, of feeble squaws
And feebler children, with their scourge of straws !

It is my care and kindness that the small
Be given first that you endure—the all !

Besides, these squaws and children will remind
You of your wife and children left behind—

To look for your return—to mope and muse—
And mourn your death with every breath of news.

Until, perchance, the midnight axe descend—
Of widow's wail and orphan's woe, an end!

Until, perchance, the Gnadenhütten Maul
Tires not, till it has crushed the skulls of all.

Nay, shudder not and fall upon your knees—
I'll change the subject, since it does not please.

Behold the stake! and this rope round the post,
To keep you in position—while you roast.

And these encircling faggots, as you turn,
To roast you through and through—before you burn.

Yea; Simon Girty has pronounced your doom;
The ashes of this wood shall be your tomb!

Win-gay-nund? Yea; ^{the chief has eat your bread —}
Beg him to save your life? He shakes his head!

Now, while the squaws and children fire the wood,
Consider what the Pipe speaks to his brood.

And since the Redman's tongue you cannot hear,
And understand, I'll be to you an ear.

"Upon this man, the chieftain of our foes,
Let each and all of us avenge our woes.

"For all the wrongs to us the Whites have done,
Let now their chieftain in himself atone.

"For he is as an army, though but one—
As to the stars at noonday, is the sun.

"All cast in him, by the Great Manito,
That we may kill an army at a blow.

"All cast in him by the Great Spirit of Good,
That we may drink at once an army's blood!

"That each and all of us may say, 'My knife
Has taken a great English army's life!

"Behold this unwiped stain upon the blade—
This Colonel Crawford's ebbing life's blood made

"Then let an army e'er invade our land,
Alone, each one of us, may make a stand.

"For we are each an army in the wood,
When we have each drank of an army's blood.

"Strike, one ^{and} all, then, ^{with} the knife-blade's tip,
That all alike may in the warm blood dip!

"That all may kill in all—not all in one;
And he an army's death die, though alone.

"That all may kill in all—not all for one;
That he atone for all the Whites have done.

"Glut, glut ^{your} vengeance, now! Strike, one ^{and} all!
Remember Gnadenhütten's murderous Maul!

"The White Man's army's ^{in the} Redman's gripe—
Obey the words of the avenging Pipe!"

What! cut ^{and} gnashed ^{and} slashed from top to toe!
Well, do not moan—I said, it would be so.

Yea; I am sure; for I was filled with fear,
Lest when your ears were off, you might not hear.

And now—Yea, there is nothing half so good
As a live coal for quickly staunching blood.

What, groan again? Why, man, your flesh is hard,
And callous to the brand, it is so charred.

I doubt if ^{you} could feel—(Yea, fire!)—the wad
Of any musket here, at half a rod.

(Go on—go on—go on! He'll stand a score
Of pops like those, and still cry out for more!)

What, shoot ^{you} through the heart, I?—Simon Girty?
To think that I could do an act so dirty!

Oh, no! Besides, you see, I have no gun;
And could not, if I would, stop this rare fun!

But since you beg me still to take a part,
With words, ^{not} wads, I'll shoot ^{you} through the heart!

Nay, sink not to the ground upon your knees,
To raise the ashes but to make you sneeze.

And call not on your God to do what I—
The devil—would not do to make you die!

The sky is clear—You need not look for rain :
And for the thunderbolt, you pray in vain !

Nay, courage, friend ; this fainting is not death ;
The gases of the coals but take your breath.

(Quick ! with the scalping-knife, ^{and} bare his skull !
Before his chest with the foul gas is full !)

Why, man, ^{you are not} dead ! Stand up ! there ! ho !
And walk around your stake—there ! steady ! so !

But how you bleed ! (Quick ! with a cap of fire,
And clap it on his head, ere he expire !)

Hurrah ! that jump is worth a thousand groans
And that sharp shriek a myriad of moans !

But why—why do you stand and stare at me,
As if you knew me not—in mockery ?

I'm sure, I have not changed from worse to worst,
Since we began ; for I set out accursed.

But ^{you are} changed ^{somewhat}—^{your} features marred—
A scorched skull staring on a corpse half charred !

Still, you are William Crawford, Esquire, Judge,
Or Colonel, as they style you, while you budge.

But sink not to the earth again, my friend,
Lest to this conference, there be an end.

Nay, close your eyes not ! See me kneel again,
Before your daughter's feet, and kneel in vain !

Nay, close your ears not ! Hear my vow once more,
And her refusal as in days of yore !

Oh, close your eyes not, till you see me spurned,
And from your cabin like a leper turned !

Oh, close your ears not, till you hear again
Your curse that maddened then as now my brain !

I loved ^{your} daughter—Mark !—till I ^{was} driven
From her—^{from} earth—^{and} every hope of heaven !

I love your daughter still, though I, accursed,
Am, of the fiends of hell, the first and worst !

I love your daughter, Sarah Crawford, still ;
And, at her name, my vengeance can not kill !

Speak! speak! Her hand's within your own again,
For Harrison is numbered with the slain.

Speak! speak! Her hand! And you shall live!
Speak! speak! before it is too late to give!

To late to——Hold! Save, Girty, save thy breath;
For Crawford's ears are closed for aye in death!

Great God, I curse thee, and thy love I loath,
For Thou'st denied my prayer and kept my oath!

Thou hast denied my love, and, when too late,
Fulfilled my vow of vengeance and of hate!

In *this* black, ugly thing!—*this* steaming flesh!—
This sickening stench!—*this* smouldering shapeless ash!

This act—to live within the brain of Man,
Till he hath made an end where he began.

III.

CAPTAIN ELLIOTT'S ENDEAVORS TO SAVE THE LIFE OF CRAWFORD.

[Ante, p. 183.]

“DETROIT, *July 18, 1782.*

“SIR:—I am happy to inform you that the Indians from this quarter have gained a complete victory over six hundred of the enemy who had penetrated as far as Sandusky, with a view of destroying the Wyandots, men, women, and children, as they had done with ninety-six of the Christian Indians at Muskingum [Tuscarawas] a few weeks before.

“The affair of Sandusky happened on the 4th of June, when the enemy left two hundred and fifty in the field; and it is believed that few of the remainder escaped to Wheeling.

“Their major, [John] McClelland, and most of the officers were killed in the action. Colonel Crawford, who commanded, was taken in the pursuit and put to death by the Delawares, notwithstanding every means had been tried by an Indian officer [Captain Matthew Elliott] present, to save his life. This the Delawares declare they did in retaliation for the affair of Muskingum [the ‘Gnaddenhütten affair.’].

“I am sorry that the imprudence of the enemy has been the means of reviving the old savage custom of putting their

prisoners to death, which, with much pains and expense, we had weaned the Indians from, in this neighborhood. . . .

"I have the pleasure to inform you that all is well in Canada and that we are too well fortified here to fear any attempts from the enemy. The Western Indians are most firmly united in the interest of his Brittannic Majesty against all his enemies. . . . A'T S. DE PEYSTER.

"THOS. BROWN, Sup't Indian Affairs."

"Dr. Knight, a surgeon I sent with Colonel Crawford," wrote General Irvine to Washington, from Fort Pitt, on the 11th of July, 1782, "returned the 4th instant to this place. He brings an account of the melancholy fate of poor Crawford. The day after the main body retreated, the colonel, doctor, and nine others, were overtaken, about thirty miles from the field of action, by a body of Indians, to whom they surrendered. They were taken back to Sandusky, where they all, except the doctor, were put to death. The unfortunate colonel, in particular, was burned and tortured in every manner they could invent.

"The doctor, after being a spectator of this distressing scene, was sent, under guard of one Indian, to the Shawanese town, where he was told he would share the same fate the next day; but fortunately found an opportunity of demolishing the fellow, and making his escape. The doctor adds, that a certain Simon Girty, who was formerly in our service, and deserted with McKee, and is now said to have a commission in the British service, was present at torturing Colonel Crawford, and that he, the doctor, was informed by an Indian, that a British captain commands at Sandusky; that he believes he was present, also, but is not certain; but says he saw a person there [Captain Elliott] who was dressed and who appeared like a British officer. He also says the colonel begged of Girty to shoot him [Crawford], but he paid no regard to the request. . . . Dr. Knight is a man of undoubted veracity."—Washington-Irvine Correspondence, pp. 126, 127.

"The character of Dr. Knight is well known to be that of a

good man, of strict veracity, and of a calm and deliberate mind, and using no exaggeration in his account of any matter."—H. H. Brackenridge, 1782, in the Knight and Slover Narrative. (See letter of Brackenridge on next page.)

IV.

DR. JOHN KNIGHT'S ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE SAW AND HEARD OF SIMON GIRTY.

[Ante, pp. 177, 178, 180, 181.]

As Dr. Knight and John Slover were the only ones of all the captured of Crawford's army who escaped from the savages, and immediately returned to the border, their recital of what they saw and suffered made at once a deep impression throughout the Trans-Alleghany settlements. Their Narratives were published together in a pamphlet already cited, entitled, "Narratives of a late Expedition against the Indians; with an Account of the Barbarous Execution of Col. Crawford; and the Wonderful Escape of Dr. Knight and John Slover from Captivity, in 1782. Philadelphia: Printed by Francis Bailey, in Market street. M,DCC,LXXIII." An X, in the date, is accidentally omitted. Copies of the original edition of this work are exceedingly rare. Subsequent but imperfect editions have been published from time to time. The Narratives have also been printed, with more or less variations from the first one published, in several border histories.

In the original pamphlet is the following address by the publisher—Francis Bailey, printer of the Freeman's Journal, in Philadelphia:

"To the Public: The two following Narratives [Knight's and Slover's] were transmitted for publication, in September last [1782]; but shortly afterwards the letters from Sir Guy Carleton, to his Excellency, General Washington, informing that the savages had received orders to desist from their incursions, gave reason to hope that there would be an end to their barbarities. For this reason, it was not thought necessary to hold up to view what they had heretofore done. But as they still continue their murders on our frontier, these Narratives may be serviceable to induce our government to

take some effectual steps to chastise and suppress them; as from hence, they will see that the nature of an Indian is fierce and cruel, and that an extirpation of them would be useful to the world, and honorable to those who can effect it."

Immediately following the address is this letter:

"MR. BAILEY: Enclosed are two Narratives, one of Dr. Knight, who acted as Surgeon in the expedition under Col. Crawford, the other of John Slover. That of Dr. Knight was written by himself at my request; that of Slover was taken by myself from his mouth as he related it. This man, from his childhood, lived amongst the Indians; though perfectly sensible and intelligent, yet he can not write. The character of Dr. Knight is well known to be that of a good man, of strict veracity, of a calm and deliberate mind, and using no exaggeration in his account of any matter. As a testimony in favor of the veracity of Slover, I thought proper to procure a certificate from the clergyman to whose church he belongs, and which I give below.

"These Narratives you will please publish in your useful paper, or in any other way you may judge proper. I conceive the publication of them may answer a good end, in showing America what have been the sufferings of some of her citizens by the hands of the Indian allies of Britain. To these Narratives, I have subjoined some Observations which you may publish or omit, as it may be convenient.

"H. [H.] BRACKENRIDGE.

"PITTSBURGH, Aug. 3, 1782."

[Certificate of the Clergyman.]

"I do hereby certify that John Slover has been for many years a regular member of the church under my care, and is worthy of the highest credit.

WILLIAM RENO."

[An Episcopalian.]

Brackenridge, to whom the world is indebted for the Narratives of Knight and Slover, was an eminent lawyer and author of Pittsburgh, from 1781 until his death in 1816. The

last fifteen years of his life, he was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was noted for his talents, learning, and eccentricity. He was the author of "Modern Chivalry," "Incidents of the Whisky Insurrection," and other works. The "Observations" he speaks of, in his letter to Mr. Bailey, were printed by the latter, with the Narratives of Knight and Slover. They are, as the writer quaintly calls them, "Observations with regard to the animals, vulgarly styled Indians." They contain, however, nothing in relation to the expedition against Sandusky. He also wrote "A Short Memoir of Col. Crawford," which was sent by him at the same time of the transmission of the Narratives, and printed along with them. A "Memoir of John Slover," to be found in some of the subsequent editions of the pamphlet, is not in the original edition.

The Narrative of Knight, up to the commencement of the retreat of the army, contains little that is not suppliable from other sources; after that event, however, his account of what he saw and suffered, is exceedingly valuable and complete. He throws no light, of course, upon the retreat of the army; neither does Slover. Both Narratives, it will be noticed, were written immediately after the return of these men from captivity. There was no printing done in Pittsburgh until the establishment and issuing of the Pittsburgh Gazette, in July, 1786; hence, the publication of the pamphlet in Philadelphia.

All the statements have been examined that could be found made by Knight and Slover after their return not contained in their printed Narratives. Most of these are either in manuscript or in the Philadelphia newspapers of 1782, furnished by Western correspondents. From these sources, a few additional items have been obtained, all corroborative, however, of the pamphlet. Subsequent relations of deserters and of the savages themselves fully substantiate its authenticity and correctness. "After a treaty or temporary peace had taken place, I saw traders who had been with the Indians

at Sandusky and had the same account from the savages themselves which Knight gave of his escape. The Indians confirmed the relation of Slover in all particulars, save as to the circumstances of his escape, which they said was with the assistance of the squaws."—H. H. Brackenridge, in Loudon's *Indian Wars*, Vol. I, pp. viii, ix.

Many incidents are mentioned in both the American and British official correspondence concerning Crawford's expedition, identical with those to be found in the Narratives just mentioned. Besides, there are numerous statements extant of those who marched from the border into the wilderness upon that campaign, all substantiating, to a greater or less extent, the published relations of these two men. There is not, therefore, the slightest reason to doubt Dr. Knight's statements concerning the words and actions of Simon Girty at and before the terrible scene of Colonel Crawford's torture.

The relation of Dr. Knight, so far as Girty is concerned, is, in the original publication, as follows:

"Monday morning, the 10th of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

"Col. Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Col. had turned out his horse, that they might if possible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town which was within eight miles of the new.

"Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Col. Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Col. if he had seen Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe one of the chiefs; he likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law Col. Harrison and his

nephew William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese but had been pardoned. . . .

"We were then conducted along toward the place where the Col. was afterward executed; when we came within about half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Col., but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind could not hear what passed between them.

"Almost every Indian we met struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited until I was brought up and asked, was that the Doctor?—I told him yes, and went toward him reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

"When we were come to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty and asked if they intended to burn him?—Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently.

[Then follows the Doctor's account of the Colonel's suffering at the hands of the savages.]

"In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer he called to him again. Girty then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

"Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need

not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its extremities.

"He then observed, that some prisoners had given him to understand, that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter, but being at that time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill-will for Col. Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention."—Knight and Slover's *Narratives* (ed. of 1783), pp. 9–12.

O.

A FICTITIOUS ACCOUNT OF SIMON GIRTY ATTITUDINIZING AS AN ORATOR.

[Ante, pp. 190, 191, where the address mentioned below, said to have been delivered, is given. See also pp. 202, 203.)

"Early in August, 1782, large detachments of Indian warriors from the Cherokee, Wyandots, Tawas, and Pottowattomies, as well as from several other tribes bordering on the lakes, assembled in grand council at Chillicothe, where they were met by Simon Girty and McKee, two renegade white men, unprincipled in disposition, and stained with the blood of innocent women and children—their lives were assimilated to the customs and habits of the Indians, from which and their general knowledge of the white people, they had acquired the confidence of the Indians, were faithful to their interests, and assisted at, and were conspicuous in their councils.

"Girty, in order to inflame the minds of young warriors against the Kentuckians, took an elevated stand, when he disengaged his arm from his blanket, assuming the attitude of an orator, and to the painted savage assembly, equipped in all

the habiliments of war, delivered the following address."—
From Bradford's Notes.

P.

CONCERNING THE BLUE LICKS CAMPAIGN.

[Ante, pp. 201, 205-208.]

"In the summer of 1782, the British commandant at Detroit ordered Major Caldwell to take Simon Girty, a few traders, a company of provincial militia, together with whatever Indians could be collected at Detroit and by the way, and with these forces to attack and destroy settlements the rebels were making south of the Ohio. Caldwell collected his men, was joined by a party of Indians at Detroit and by other parties on the Maumee, on the Great Miami, and from other points along the line of march. When he reached the Ohio, his forces thus increased amounted to about four hundred men. It was Caldwell's intention to attack the station at Beargrass (Louisville) first, but receiving information that Clark was there, and that the place was supplied with cannon, he changed his plan, and led his force up the Kentucky river, and thence to Bryant's station. Before they arrived there, they were discovered, and the inhabitants were so well fortified that a siege of two days and a half made no impression upon them, and gave no hope that they would be compelled to surrender.

"Under these circumstances, Caldwell withdrew his forces from the station and fell back as far as the Blue Licks, where game was supposed to be sufficiently abundant to support them until he could find some other and weaker point of attack. At first the Indians were unwilling to alarm the buffaloes by encamping too near the Licks, but Caldwell, a vigilant and efficient commander, suspecting the Kentuckians were in pursuit, overruled their objection and selected a position near the Licks most favorable for defense. They had not been twenty-four hours in their new location before the Long Knives

came. They were supposed to number about two hundred men, many of whom fought on horseback, and appeared to have several commanders. All of them who were fairly brought into action fought desperately, but it seemed they were more blind than brave; for, in a battle of one hour only, their loss was sixty-five killed, and many wounded. Of these several were carried off by their companions, and the remainder were massacred by the Indians. Many more of the Kentuckians must have fallen had the Indians continued to fight instead of scrambling after the spoils, and even fighting among themselves for choice rifles, which were found near the dead and in some instances wounded wen."—Albach's *Western Annals* (1857), pp. 395, 396.

It is claimed that the foregoing statement was made by an individual who was under Caldwell at the time. But another account has been published, which will now be given to be compared with the one just inserted.

"Mr. [Joel] Collins [whose biography is being given] could detail all the circumstances connected with the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. I will mention one singular fact related by him which I have not seen referred to in history. He said he learned it from an old man, since he resided in the State of Ohio. This man was charged by some of his neighbors with being a tory in the Revolutionary War, and having served the British with the Indians under the notorious Simon Girty. It was alleged that he was present at the siege of Bryant's station, and, subsequently, at the battle of the Blue Licks. Mr. Collins stated that after he had become acquainted with the old man, and acquired his confidence by several little acts of kindness and friendship, he felt a strong desire to hear what the old man would say on the subject. He sought a fitting opportunity, and asked him if what he had heard was true. He confessed that it was. They then sat down on a log together (for they were alone in the woods), and the old man saying he would tell him all about it, made the following statement:

“ ‘He resided in the State of New York at the time the American Revolution commenced; a cousin of his, who had received a lieutenant’s commission in the American army, made him drunk, and while in that condition induced him to enlist during the war; when he became sober he repented of his engagement, but the officer refused to let him off. He deserted and fled to Detroit, then in possession of the English. Some time after he had been in that country an expedition was planned against the settlements in Kentucky, to be composed chiefly of Indians and such of the white inhabitants as could be prevailed on to join them. The expedition was conducted by an officer of the British army, named Caldwell. The deserter attached himself to this party and marched with the expedition. After they had failed in their attack on Bryant’s station and had retreated as far as Licking river, near the Blue Licks, Officer Caldwell consulted with the Indians as to the probability of their being pursued by the white people, for the position in which they were was a favorable one to give battle to and repel the whites should they come on. The Indians assured the Englishman that they had in their company an old man that by prophecy or conjuration could tell whether they were pursued or not. The old Indian after figuring awhile with his conjuring tools, pointed to an elevation in the sky above the horizon, which would leave the sun about three hours high in the afternoon, and said: When the sun gets there, the Long Knives will be here. The Indians immediately crossed the river and formed an ambuscade where the battle was fought. Officer Caldwell, however, not placing implicit confidence in the conjuration of the old Indian, mounted a couple of his most trusted spies on fleet horses and sent them back to make discoveries. They had not proceeded very far when they discovered that the Kentuckians were coming on. The conjuration of the Indian was strictly true. The result is known.’ ”—McBride’s *Pioneer Biography* (1869), Vol. I, pp. 207, 208.

It will be noticed that the “old man” referred to by Mr. McBride does not say that the “Indians” were “under the

notorious Simon Girty." This is by McBride himself or by Mr. Collins; and is so asserted as one of the facts which every body understood. But this "old man" was either a fraud or he had an exceedingly bad memory. If the former, he had gleaned enough about the story of the Blue Licks to assert one thing not generally known at that day—the fact that Caldwell was the leader of the enemy at the battle of the Blue Licks; but it is evident that he was in the expedition, and that his recollection on many points was at fault. A careful examination of his statement and of the one published by Albach discloses the fact that the last was also the account of the same "old man." It will be remembered that, in the Albach account, Simon Girty is represented by inference as having no command.

Compare, as to this campaign, "Keith" (Thomas M. Green), in Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, August 19, 1882; Richard H. Collins, in Louisville Courier-Journal, August 17 and 19, same year.

In connection with the supposed Girty-Reynolds episode, a few authorities as to the point that there was no cessation in the attack on the station (Bryan's) after it began until its final ending, is here given:

"The siege continued from about sunrise till about ten o'clock the next day, then they [the enemy] marched off."—Boone to the Governor of Virginia, August 30, 1782, in Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. III, p. 275. "They attacked the station closely and defeated different parties endeavoring to throw in assistance."—Logan to Harrison, August 31, 1782, the same, p. 280. "They . . . kept up a smart fire till the morning of the 17th, when they went off."—Levi Todd to Harrison and Council, September 11, 1782, id., p. 300. "In the meantime, the Indians made a violent attack upon Bryant's Fort and continued it all day and night, and a storm was expected. However they met with some loss, and on the morning of the 17th went off."—Levi Todd to Rob't Todd, August 26, 1782, id., p. 333. Not one of these

writers mention any demand having been made for a surrender, while Levi Todd, it will be noticed, in his letter of the twenty-sixth expressly declares the attack "continued" "all day and night." Surely, so important a matter as a demand to give up the station would have been known by these writers had it been made; and, having been known by them, it is certainly to be presumed they would have mentioned it.

Q.

THE HALDIMAND MANUSCRIPTS.

"After 1831 the accessions [to the manuscript collections of the British Museum] have been arranged in one series, called 'Additional Manuscripts,' and including the Sloane Collection, 4,000 vols. This later classification contained, in 1881, 31,380 volumes. Though there are papers of much interest in the King's, Egerton, and the other earlier collections, it is among these Additional Manuscripts, in the Haldimand Papers, that we find the richest stores pertaining to the American Revolution. These Haldimand Papers are embraced in 232 volumes, covering the years 1758-1785, mainly in Canada, though an interval was passed by Haldimand in Florida. These papers, catalogued in the printed Index to MSS. in the British Museum (London, 1880), p. 679, are marked as having been acquired between 1854 and 1875,¹ and are called Official Correspondence and Papers of Gen. Frederick Haldimand during his various Commands, 1758-1785 (British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, Nos. 21,661-21,982). They include letters of Earl Howe to Haldimand, 1778-1785 (No. 21,709); Sir William Howe's, 1778-1779, 1781 (Nos. 21,734, 21,807, 21,808); Sir Henry Clinton's, 1777-1783 (Nos. 21,807, 21,808); Burgoyne's, 1779-1782

¹ They were mainly bequeathed to the Museum by William, nephew (or, probably, grand-nephew) of General Haldimand. Compare account of Haldimand by G. D. Scull, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 1884, Vol. VIII, p. 300, and Brymner's account of Haldimand in his Report for 1887.

(Nos. 21,732, 21,733, 21,734), and Washington's, 1780-8 (in No. 21,835).

"There is a volume of copies of those relating to the French war among the Parkman Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society; but the most extensive transcripts in America is the series made from them for the Canadian government at Ottawa, which have been described in the Reports of the Dominion archivist Douglas Brymner.¹ In his Report for 1884, he has begun an elaborate calendar of the entire collection, which it is intended finally to publish separately.

"The Haldimand Papers include a series of correspondence with the governors of the American colonies, 1765-1774; his correspondence with Germain and the home government, reporting on affairs in the colonies; and the minutes of the Council at Quebec, 1778-1784, beside a great variety of other important papers. It is the fullest repository which we have of the attempted negotiations for sundering Vermont from the American cause.²

"Haldimand was a friend of Henry Bouquet (who died 1765), and inherited his papers, so that what are known as the Bouquet Papers are a component part of the Haldimand Papers. These are also indexed in the Catalogue of MSS. in the British Museum.

"Many papers supplementing the Haldimand Papers are in the Quebec series in the Public Record Office, making ten volumes, and these are noted in Brymner's Report for 1883, p. 79."—Justin Winsor, in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VIII, pp. 461, 462.

"The fact as to the originals of the Haldimand Papers being both in the State Paper Office and in the British Mu-

¹ Compare his Report (appended to the reports of the Commissioner of Agriculture) for 1873, 1881, 1882.

² Compare Haldimand Papers, with *Contemporaneous History, 1779-1783*, in *Vermont Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, and the statements respecting the importance of these papers in investigating this question, as detailed in Vol. VI of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Haldimand at one time captured B. Arnold's papers.—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. VIII, p. 309.

seum," writes Douglas Brymner to the author of this narrative, on the 20th of January, 1890, "is easily explained :

"The uncertainty of transport was so great that triplicate (sometimes quadruplicate) originals were sent from both sides. Haldimand kept a complete collection of what was sent him and copies for his own use of all the letters he sent to the ministry. Hence the originals in the Museum. The original letters *from* Haldimand and copies of all letters *sent to* him were kept in the Colonial Office and subsequently transferred to the Record (State Paper) Office. Hence the possession of originals there also. But the correspondence in the latter is very limited as compared with Haldimand's own collection, only 9 volumes as compared with 232, every sort of subject coming within range of Haldimand being kept on record. Besides the 9 volumes there are others in the Treasury, etc., but the whole of those in the government departments can not make any thing like the number in Haldimand's own collection."

"Among the most valuable of the hitherto untouched manuscripts which I have obtained," says Theodore Roosevelt in his Preface to *The Winning of the West*, are the Haldimand papers, preserved in the Canadian archives at Ottawa." And that author continues: "They [the Haldimand Papers] give, for the first time, the British and Indian side of all the northwestern fighting; including Clark's campaigns, the siege of Boonsborough [*sic*], the Battle of the Blue Licks, Crawford's defeat, etc."

In the Vermont Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II, are published many letters and documents from the Haldimand Collection, as before noted. That volume was given to the public a number of years ago; and, of the particular letters and documents thus printed, there may be mentioned those relating to Crawford's defeat and notably those concerning Clark's abortive campaign against Detroit in 1781, being the official report of Lochry's defeat and a letter from General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, of September 29, 1781.

But further: In the IXth volume of the Michigan

Pioneer Collections, published in 1886 (pp. 343-658), is printed a large number of letters and documents from the Haldimand Papers (and more are promised), copies having been made for that purpose from the Ottawa transcripts. Many of these are the same as those used in *The Winning of the West*.

So, also, early in 1888, there were printed in the XIth volume of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (pp. 97-212), many of the Haldimand Papers, copies for that purpose having been obtained from the Canada transcripts. These are ably annotated by Reuben G. Thwaites, Corresponding Secretary of that Society.

Again: In the Washington-Irvine Correspondence (Madison, Wisconsin, David Atwood, 1882), in an historical sketch of one of Clark's campaigns (see pp. 55, 56), Haldimand Papers are cited by the author of this narrative and relied upon; and in the same volume are published from the same all of the most important of the letters of that Collection relating to Crawford's defeat (pp. 368-371). And in the Magazine of Western History, Vol. VII, pp. 153-165, 357-368 (June and August, 1888), Haldimand Papers, are relied upon and frequently cited in a narrative of principal events occurring in the Ohio valley and in the North-west from the commencement of 1779 to the end of 1781, referring to much of, though not to "all the northwestern fighting" during that period.

In Bancroft's History of the United States, in Farmer's History of Detroit, and in an able paper entitled *The West*, by William Frederick Poole, to be found in the VIth volume of Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Haldimand Papers are used. All these publications (and others might be mentioned) were given to the public before the two volumes of Roosevelt.

It is proper here to examine the declaration of Roosevelt as to the Haldimand Papers giving "the British and Indian side of all the northwestern fighting;" he means "all the northwestern fighting" between the Americans on one side and the

British and Indians on the other during the Revolution. This is not strictly correct, although the Papers refer, more or less, to the principal contests of arms in that region from 1777 to 1783 inclusive—the period covering “the northwestern fighting.” But the mischievousness of the statement lies in the fact that it conveys the idea that the writer (Roosevelt) is in possession of *all* the “papers” of the Haldimand Collection bearing upon those conflicts, or, at least, of all that are necessary to a correct understanding of them.

Farther on in his Preface, Roosevelt complicates matters. “I have been obliged,” he says, “to rely mainly on these collections of early documents [the Haldimand Papers and other manuscripts which he mentions] as my authorities, especially for that portion of western history prior to 1783.” Confining ourselves to the Haldimand Papers, the question is pertinent, how could that writer rely with positive certainty upon them, in particular cases, when by far the most important—the most necessary—of them relating to the events he is describing he, probably, had not seen? He declares in the paragraph, from which the last quotation is made, that “the mass of original material, in the shape of official reports and contemporary letters, contained in the Haldimand MSS. [and others mentioned by him], not only cast a flood of new light upon this early history [that is, the early history of the country west of the Alleghanies], but necessitates its being entirely re-written.” And he nerves himself to this task of re-writing a part of early Western history in one notable instance (and there are others, in his pages), that of giving an account of Bird’s campaign into Kentucky—than which there was none more important in the West during the Revolution—by describing it without having seen, it is believed, the Official Correspondence of the British commander concerning the expedition, which is among the Canadian transcripts of the Haldimand Papers. (See pp. 120, 182, 198, ante.)

R.

GEORGE GIRTY TO CAPTAIN ALEXANDER M'KEE.

[Ante, p. 293.]

"BUCKUNGEHELAS TOWN, September 5, 1784.

"Sir:—I have to acquaint you that some of the Cherokees and Shawanese Indians are gone a horse-hunting again. I am likewise informed that the Kikapoos and Weas have taken several prisoners lately from about the Falls and Salt creek, which has occasioned an army to march from the Falls against them. They have been met by Indian spies from Weatenon. The Indians say they did not mean to kill Wilson only to frighten him. His man was killed by Snake's nephew.

"A Shawanese Indian with two white men who came from the Falls lately, informs me, that four Spaniards who came from New Orleans to that place made a speech to send among the Indians, informing them that now the English and Americans were one. The latter were to be supplied with every thing they wanted by the former which occasioned the Americans to be very saucy.

"I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"GEORGE GIRTY.

"ALEXANDER MCKEE, ESQ."

S.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN LEITH.

[See p. 224.]

"The deponent saith that he was storekeeper for himself and company at Tuscarawas, where he had a quantity of goods and furs; that there was another store at the same place, kept by James Chambers, for Messieurs Hamilton and Greenough, where was also a considerable amount of goods and skins;

that the whole property in both stores was about the value of one thousand pounds.

“That on Tuesday, the 27th of September, seven of the Wyandot nation came to the store, about nine o'clock in the morning; the deponent and Chambers were together at his house, sitting by the fire; the Wyandots told the Delawares, a party of whom had been trading with him for some days, that there was war—that the hatchet was taken up; upon which, one of the Delawares came to him and bid him rise and go with him; the deponent went with him, when the Delaware told him that Chambers would be killed; he soon heard the stroke made at Chambers by one of the Wyandots; he was immediately tomahawked and drawn out before the house, where he was left; the deponent having been a prisoner with the Delawares for twelve years, and being adopted as a brother in that nation, was the reason, he supposes, why his life was spared; the Wyandots took the goods and furs, except the property of the deponent, and made two parcels of them; they gave one division to the Delawares, and took the other themselves.

“The deponent was carried to the Delaware towns, to a place called Coshurking, on the head-waters of the Big Miami; at the time of his arrival, there was a grand council of the Indians, at which were present the chiefs of the Delawares, Wyandots, Shawanese, Mingoes, Cherokees, Putawatimees, Kickapoos, and the Twigtees, with belts and speeches from the Ojatinons, Tawas, Chipeways, and the Fox nations.

“The council was held on the first of October, and lasted two days and nights; they held it three miles from the town; he could not learn the object of their meeting.

“The deponent further saith that he met with Captain Pipe at the council, and, as soon as the council was over, the deponent was released from confinement; Captain Pipe and George Washington went with him to Pipe's residence, a Delaware town on the Sandusky River; they immediately went to work to collect the goods that were taken at Tuscarawas, and had collected a considerable quantity to be redelivered to the

owners ; they staid two nights at Pipe's town, when Pipe, George Washington, and deponent went to the Wyandot towns where they were collecting the goods also ; that the chiefs of both nations seemed very averse to the outrage committed at Tuscarawas ; the deponent verily believes that a considerable quantity of the goods will be returned ; the deponent is of the opinion, from the frequent conversations he has had with the Indians, before and since the late affair at Tuscarawas, that the chiefs of the Delaware and Wyandot nations are for peace, but that the young men and bad characters of both nations can not be kept at peace ; that Simon Girty and Captain Caldwell of the British rangers, were lately at the Wyandot towns, and that he verily believes, from the information given him by a man well acquainted with these matters, that Girty and Caldwell were using their endeavors to prevent the Delawares and Wyandots from going to the treaty to be held at the mouth of the Big Miami.

"The deponent further saith that, from every observation he could make, and from the general talk of the Indians, he is led to believe that they are, in general, averse to giving up their lands ; he is certain it will be dangerous for the Continental surveyors to go on with their business, until some further treaty is made with the Shawanese, Mingoës, and Cherokees, who appear to be most averse to this business.

"The deponent further saith that he was at the Lower Sandusky, when the articles of peace between Great Britain and America were made known to the Indians ; that they were told that the hatchet was only laid down, but not buried ; that the Half King of the Wyandots remarked that, if it was peace, it should be buried—that there were many of their foolish young men who would take it up, unless it was covered. And further saith not.¹

"Sworn to before me, at Fort McIntosh, this 17th day of October, 1785.

"JOHN DOUGHTY,
"Major *Coram'dt.*"

[St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 632, 633.]

¹ MS. Harmar Papers.

T.

M'KEE THE PRINCIPAL STIMULATOR OF THE WAR OF 1790-95.

McKee, as British Indian agent, reported, on the 3d of June, 1794, from the "Miamis Rapids" (Rapids of the Maumee), that a deserter had come in from the American army at Fort Greenville. In giving information as to the intelligence brought by him, McKee says: "Wells and May, two spies, with sixteen others, dress and paint themselves like Indians, and were out on a scout when he deserted. They are paid forty dollars for every Indian's scalp, besides a dollar each per day; and one thousand dollars are offered for the scalp of Simon Girty." (Consult, for a copy of McKee's Report, transcripts of the Haldimand Papers, in Canadian Archives, Ottawa, Series "C," Vol. 247, p. 165.) But neither General Wayne nor any of his officers offered a bounty for Indian scalps during this war, nor was any sum offered by them for the scalp of Simon Girty. They would certainly not have taken such responsibility without orders: and their official instructions contain no such authority. The deserter had either been wrongly informed, or he purposely told what was false. General Wayne looked upon McKee as being "the principal stimulator" of the war then existing; and had he been authorized to offer one thousand dollars reward for the scalp of any white man, it would, doubtless, have been for his. Besides, Wells and May went out to take prisoners, not scalps.

That, in the opinion of Wayne, McKee was the chief instigator of the war is proven by the letter of the former to the secretary of war from head-quarters, Grand Glaize, 28 Aug., 1794. " . . . We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami [Maumee] in front of the field of battle [of August 20th], during which time all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison, who were compelled to re-

main tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores, and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages."—American State Papers, Vol. V (Ind. Aff., Vol. I), p. 491. The following are in corroboration:

Examination of a prisoner, 11 Aug., 1794. "Where are the Indians at this time?"—"At Colonel McKee's." "Where are the British?"—"In a fort about one mile below Colonel McKee's."

"About seventy of the militia including Capt. Caldwell's corps, were in the action. Colonel McKee, Capt. Elliott, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectable distance, and near the river. The Indians have wished for peace some time, but Colonel McKee has always dissuaded them from it."—From an examination of Antoine Lassell, a native Canadian, and a volunteer in Capt. Caldwell's company of refugees, friends and allies of the hostile Indians, captured in the action of the 20th August, 1794. American State Papers, Vol. V (Ind. Aff., Vol. I), p. 494.

In addition to the above, is the following from another prisoner: "The Indians are regularly supplied with provisions drawn from the British magazine, in the garrison, by Colonel McKee. The militia of Detroit and vicinity amounts to nearly two thousand. Colonel Baubee commands them. McKee is also a Colonel of militia. One company of volunteers commanded by Capt. Caldwell was in the action [of the 'Fallen Timber,' August 20th]."

U.

GOVERNOR SIMCOE, OF CANADA, PREVENTS PEACE IN 1794.

[Ante, p. 287.]

"In the month of October following this defeat [the battle of the 'Fallen Timber,' August 20, 1794] Blue Jacket con-

curred in the expediency of suing for peace, and at the head of a deputation of chiefs, was about to bear a flag to General Wayne, then at Greenville, when the mission was arrested by foreign influence. Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and the Mohawk chief, Captain Joseph Brant, having in charge one hundred and fifty Mohawks and Messasagoes, arrived at the rapids of the Maumee, and invited the chiefs of the combined army to meet them at the mouth of the Detroit river, on the 10th of October. To this Blue Jacket assented for the purpose of hearing what the British officers had to propose. Governor Simcoe urged the Indians to retain their hostile attitude towards the United States. In referring to the encroachments of the people of this country on the Indian lands, he said: 'Children: I am still of the opinion that the Ohio is your right and title. I have given orders to the commandant of Fort Miami [the fort recently erected by the British on the Maumee] to fire on the Americans whenever they make their appearance again. I will go down to Quebec and lay your grievances before the great man. From thence they will be forwarded to the king your father. Next spring you will know the result of every thing you and I will do.' He urged the Indians to obtain a cessation of hostilities until the following spring, when the English would be ready to attack the Americans and by driving them back across the Ohio, restore their lands to the Indians. These counsels delayed the conclusion of peace until the following summer."—Drake's Tecumseh. But it is certain peace was not, because of this counsel of Governor Simcoe, much delayed.

V.

SIMON Girty AND THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF WESTERN VIRGINIA.

It is a fact (which is not at all a matter of surprise or wonder) that certain localities in what is now known as the "Pan-Handle," in West Virginia, escaped the visitations of the sav-

ages during the Revolution and the Indian war which followed; but, that that fact was owing, in any way, to the efforts of Simon Girty, is the height of absurdity. "It is related," says a recent account, "that no murders or depredations were ever committed in a certain neighborhood in the eastern part of Ohio County [West Virginia] and it is pretty certain that not many happened on the eastern side of Brooke [county, same state], until we reach the region on the head-waters of Cross creek and thence northward on Harmon's and King's creeks. Some attributed this to favoritism. This region was peopled, says the account, by Presbyterians of the Scotch-Irish stock, who located there to secure homes for themselves and their children; and with the high sense of justice, characteristic of them, they refused to aid or countenance any aggressions against the Indians. There were no scouts or Indian fighters among them, and none of the lawless class. They acted strictly on the defensive. From the light that has since been thrown upon the character of Simon Girty, it appears that they were unknowingly indebted to him for their exemption from Indian trouble; notwithstanding that they always considered Girty to be their worst enemy. Girty, it is very certain, was well acquainted with the character of the settlements."—Jacob's Brooke County, West Virginia, p. 25.

That the Scotch-Irish, of Western Virginia, during the dark days of the Revolution and the Indian War of 1790-5, had "no scouts or Indian fighters among them," is a very different story from what authentic history tells us. None fought the Indians with more zeal and determination; none were more ready and willing to repel savage aggressions; none marched into the Indian country with more heroic valor than they. And, to this rule, there were no exceptions; there were no localities where they were not ever on the alert to protect their homes against the visitations of the stealthy foe; none where the inhabitants were not instant in their responses to the calls for volunteers to pursue war parties of the murderous enemy. To talk of these people refusing "to aid or

countenance any aggressions against the Indians" is nonsense. The "aggressions" were from the other side. And when Simon Girty visited the Pan-Handle during these wars, which he did but once after fleeing his country, it was to kill and capture, regardless of nationality or creeds.

W.

DEED OF SIMON GIRTY TO HIS SON THOMAS.

[Ante, pp. 307, 308.]

A Memorial to be registered pursuant to an Act of the Legislature of Upper Canada of an Indenture of bargain and sale made at Amherstburg on the first day of May, A. D., one thousand eight hundred and twelve, between Simon Girty of the one part, yeoman, and Thomas Girty, his son, of the other part.

Whereby the said Simon Girty for and in consideration of the natural affection, which the said Simon bears to his said son Thomas and also for and in consideration of the sum of five Shillings paid by the said Thomas to said Simon the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged.

The said Simon Girty, doth hereby grant, bargain, sell, and alien, and confirm to the said Thomas Girty, his heirs and assigns forever, all that certain tract or parcel of land and tenement commonly called or known by the name of the north half of lot number eleven, in the first Concession of the Township of Malden, in the County of Essex, and Province of Upper Canada, containing by admeasurement eighty two acres, be the same more or less, butted and bounded as follows: (that is to say) beginning at a post on the bank of the River Detroit in the limits between limits of lots number ten and eleven, then east one hundred and thirty one chains, then south six chains twenty-six links, then west to the River Detroit, then northerly along the shore of the river against the stream to the place of beginning, with the reversion and reversions, rents, issues and profits, with their and all

their appurtenances to the said tract of land and premises above described.

To have and to hold to the said Thomas Girty, his heirs and assigns forever.

Which said Indenture of bargain and sale is witnessed by A. Masonville, of Amherstburg, merch't, and William Elliott, advocate, both of Amherstburg, county, district and province as aforesaid, and is hereby required to be registered by me the said Simon Girty, the grantor in the said deed named.

As witness my hand and seal at Amherstburg aforesaid this 3d day of July, A. D. 1813.

HIS
SIMON + GIRTY. [L. S.]
MARK

Signed and sealed in
presence of

W. ELLIOTT,
WM. DUFF.

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy of an instrument as entered and registered in the Registry office for the County of Essex, in Old Book "C." for said County, at 9 O'Clock A. M., on the 9th day of August, A. D., 1813, as No. 176.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Sandwich, in the County of Essex, this 6th day of September, A. D., 1885.

J. WALLACE ARKIN,
Registrar.

— — —
X.

GENERAL HARRISON IN CANADA IN 1813.

[Ante, p. 309.]

Concerning the arrival of General Harrison's men in Canada, immediately after the victory upon Lake Erie, many accounts have been published. A trustworthy one is here inserted:

"The whole army embarked from the Middle Sister [one of the islands in Lake Erie] for the Canada shore, on the 27th of September, 1813], and presented in its *denouement* one of

the finest occasions for the pencil of the artist ; and the interest of the scene was not a little awakened by the momentary expectation of the opening of the enemy's fire from the shore. No opposition, however, was made to the landing of our troops, and Commodore [who was present] frequently expressed his admiration for the promptness and discipline displayed on the occasion. Just at the moment of debarkation the General issued along the line of boats the following laconic and impressive order :

“‘HEAD-QUARTERS ON BOARD THE ARIEL,

September 27, 1813.

“‘The General entreats his brave troops to remember that they are the sons of sires whose fame is immortal ; that they are to fight for the rights of *their* insulted country, whilst their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master.

“‘Kentuckians! remember the River Raisin ; but remember it only whilst the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier can not be gratified upon a fallen enemy.

“‘By command,

“‘ROBERT BUTLER, *A.-Adjutant-General.*

“‘In an hour after landing, the troops entered Amherstburg ; and the American flag was hoisted. The following is the General's official letter from that place :

“‘HEAD-QUARTERS, AMHERSTBURG, *September 27, 1813.*

“‘SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that I landed the army under my command about three miles below this place at 8 o'clock this evening, without opposition and took possession of the town in an hour after. General Proctor has retreated to Sandwich with his regular troops and Indians, having previously burned the fort, navy-yard, barracks and public store houses, —the two latter were very extensive, covering several acres of ground. I will pursue the enemy to-morrow, although there is no probability of my overtaking him, as he has up-

wards of one thousand horses, and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate to be able to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers. It is supposed here that General Proctor intends to establish himself upon the River French, forty miles from Malden.

“I have the honor to be, etc.,

“WM. H. HARRISON.”

The army under General Harrison left Amherstburg on the next day (September 28th), and entered Sandwich on the 29th. General McArthur's brigade immediately crossed over and took possession of Detroit, which had previously been abandoned and the public buildings and property destroyed. On the same evening, General Harrison issued his proclamation for re-establishing the civil government of the Territory; but the order previously issued by Proctor, declaring martial law on the Canada side of the river, was continued in force. Colonel Richard M. Johnson arrived with his regiment at Detroit, on the 30th of September, and joined the main army at Sandwich on the evening of the 1st of October. General Harrison had awaited his coming before commencing his pursuit of Proctor. This began on the following day, ending gloriously for the Americans at the battle of the Thames.

Y.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM CHARLES MICKLE.

[Ante, pp. 303, 321, 322, 333.]

I.

AMHERSTBURG, Jan. 1st, 1837.

Mr. C. W. Butterfield.

DEAR SIR:—My two youngest brothers, George L. and Alexander Mickle, live on the [Simon Girty] farm and own it.

You want to know if it is true Simon Girty's widow brought suit for dower against me? It is true she brought suit

for dower, but she did not bring it against me ; she brought it against my father ; his name was William Mickle. He has been dead a number of years and there is no one as I know of who knows any thing about it. There is no one I am acquainted with who knows Mrs. Girty's age, or when she was married. But my mother-in-law, who is one of the oldest women in the county being nearly ninety, says she thinks Girty and his wife were married in Detroit, but she is not sure ; as for her (Mrs. Girty's) age she (mother-in-law) does not know any thing about it. She was taken prisoner by the Indians during the Revolutionary War ; she does not know whether she was a child or a young woman when she was captured. My mother-in-law thinks it would have been as well if she had staid among the Indians instead of marrying Girty, for he used to take his sword and hit her alongside the head just for fun.

Mrs. Girty's maiden name was Catharine Malott.

As near as my mother-in-law knows, Girty died some time either in 1816 or 1817.

Mrs. Girty brought suit for her dower at Sandwich, but I do not know who her lawyer was.

I do not know whether her declaration is on file or not.

I suppose you have heard of Girty's activity. My mother-in-law says her father knew Girty and said he (Girty) jumped over a very high gate and broke his ankle and never was so active afterwards ; but I suppose you have heard all about his activity. He (my mother-in-law's father) said Girty could drink the most whisky of any man he knew of.

Yours Very truly,

WILLIAM CHARLES MICKLE.

II.

AMHERSTBURG, Jan. 21st, 1887.

Mr. C. W. Butterfield.

DEAR SIR:—The house that Simon Girty lived in has disappeared. As near as I can remember it was a log house

with two windows and a door in front and one window in the end up-stairs.

My mother-in-law says that Mrs. Girty had not been living with Girty for some time; but when he got sick and blind she went and took care of him at her son Prideaux'. She (my mother-in-law) says Mrs. Girty died in Colchester South at Mr. Joseph Munger's, but she does not know in what year.

My mother-in-law's full name is Susan Arner and her father's was Jacob Iler.

Mrs. Girty did not succeed in her suit against my father for dower. I do not know whether the records were burned or not.

Yours Very Truly,

WILLIAM C. MICKLE.

2.

PUBLISHED ESTIMATES OF SIMON GIRTY.

[Ante, pp. 325-327.]

A diversity of opinion has heretofore existed as to the acts of Simon Girty during the Revolution and the Indian war which followed. Speaking of him, a recent Canadian writer says: "The life and bloody record of this man are made famous not only in history, but have been the foundation of many contributions to our literature; and that 'truth is stranger than fiction' is amply illustrated by his many daring adventures, almost superhuman exploits, and miraculous escapes from death at the hands of the Americans. Yet, notwithstanding the fiendish barbarity which some historians attribute to this man, it can not be gainsaid that in many instances he exhibited a degree of generosity and tender-heartedness and gave succor to those in distress under circumstances in which the exercise of these virtues covered a multitude of sins."

Exceeding any thing that has yet been said in praise of Girty, is the panegyric of an Ohio poet, who, upon reading

an account of a noble act of his (but which account was, in fact, fictitious), gives vent to his feelings in these words :

Oh, great-souled chief!—so long malign'd
By bold calumniators ;
The world shall not be always blind,
Nor all men be thy haters.
If ever on the field of blood,
Man's valor merits glory,
Then Girty's name and Girty's fame
Shall shine in song and story.

But, in censure of Girty, far more has been written (how justly or unjustly let the previous pages disclose) than in praise. "Girty became an Indian by adoption—acquired their habits—participated in their deliberations—inflamed their passions—and goaded them on to deeds of human atrocity. I called him an incendiary. He was worse—he was a monster. No famished tiger ever sought the blood of a victim with more unrelenting rapacity, than Girty sought the blood of a white man. He could laugh, in fiendish mockery, at the agonies of a captive, burning and writhing at the stake. He could witness, unmoved, the sacrifice of unoffending women and children. No scene of torture or of bloodshed was sufficiently horrible to excite compassion in his bosom."—James T. Morehead, in "An Address in Commemoration of the First Settlement of Kentucky," p. 90.

And a versifier has condemned him in the most forcible invective, as—

The outlawed white man, by Ohio's flood,
Whose vengeance shamed the Indian's thirst for blood ;
Whose hellish arts surpassed the redman's far ;
Whose hate enkindled many a border war,
Of which each aged grand-dame hath a tale,—
Of which man's bosom burns and childhood's cheek grows pale !

"A wretched miscreant, named Simon Girty, was another agent in these nefarious proceedings [marauds into the border settlements during the Revolution]—a native of one of the British colonies,—who, in consequence of his crimes, or of some injury which he supposed himself to have received, had

fled from the abode of civilized men; he became a savage in manners and in principle, and spent his whole life in the perpetration of a demoniac vengeance against his countrymen. He planned many expeditions against our [the American] borders, some of which he led in person; was present at the conflagration of the settler's cabin, witnessed the expiring agonies of the mother and the infant, and assisted in the dreadful solemnities which attend the torturing of a prisoner at the stake. It was in vain that the unhappy victims appealed to his humanity; a single instance only is known [the saving the life of Simon Kenton is here referred to], in which he suffered the dictates of pity to actuate his conduct; with the same cold indifference or hellish malignity, did he witness the butchery of the infant, the murder of the tender woman, and the excruciating torture of the gallant soldier."—*The Romance of Western History*, p. 288.

"Several persons who had lived among the Indians were . . . employed by Hamilton to instigate them to hostilities, and among them were the brothers Simon, George, and James Girty, who were regularly paid as British agents at Detroit, and who personally took part in raids upon the settlements. The monstrous barbarities of some of these men almost stagger belief, and force upon us the unwelcome truth that in civilized society, and within the sound of Christian bells, there may be bred and reared savages as fiendish in their cruelty as any the world has ever known. Hamilton, in his dispatches to his superiors, gave them to understand that he should send out parties of Indians 'to fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and its branches,' and he selected to lead these raids fit instruments who would be troubled by no compunctions and no emotions of pity in making the work of destruction complete."—*Cooley's History of Michigan*, pp. 91, 92.

"No other country or age ever produced, perhaps, so brutal, depraved, and wicked a wretch as Simon Girty. He was sagacious and brave; but his sagacity and bravery only made him a greater monster of cruelty. All of the vices of

civilization seemed to center in him, and by him were ingrafted upon those of the savage state, without the usual redeeming qualities of either. He moved about through the Indian country during the war of the Revolution, and the Indian war which followed, a dark whirlwind of fury, desperation, and barbarity. In the refinements of torture inflicted on helpless prisoners, as compared with the Indians, he 'out-rivaled Herod.' In treachery he stood unrivaled.

"There ever rankled in his bosom a most deadly hatred of his country. He seemed to revel in the very excess of malignity toward his old associates. So horrid was his wild ferocity and savageness, that the least relenting seemed to be acts of positive goodness—luminous sparks in the very blackness of darkness! 'I have fully glutted my vengeance,' said the Mingo Logan, when he had taken a scalp for each of his relations murdered; but the revenge of Simon Girty was gorged with numberless victims of all ages and of either sex! It seemed as insatiable as the grave itself."—An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky, under Col. William Crawford, in 1782, pp. 199, 200.

AA.

JAMES GIRTY'S WILL.

[Ante, p. 816.]

In the name of God, Amen.

I, James Girty, of the Township of Gosfield, in the County of Essex, in the Western District of Upper Canada, yeoman, being of sound mind and memory but considering the uncertainty of human life, do make this my Last Will and in manner following, to wit:

My desire is to be buried at as little expense as decency will permit and after the paying of all my just debts and funeral expenses, I make the following disposition of all my property real and personal.

To my son James Girty and to my daughter Ann or Nancy

Girty who are both now living with me, I give and devise all my lands and tenements with their appurtenances situate and being in the said Township of Gosfield and known by the name and description of lot number eight, in the first Concession, containing two hundred acres or thereabouts, to be divided between them in the following manner, namely: by a line run across the centre of the said lot dividing it equally into two parts, the one half on the north or rear of the said lot and the other half on the south or front of said lot.

That half in the front which is bounded by the said line on the north and by Lake Erie on the south I give and devise to my said son James, and the other half in the rear and on the north side of the said line, I give and devise to my said daughter Nancy and to their respective heirs forever.

I also bequeath to my said son James the following six negro slaves or such of them as may be living at the time of my death, viz: Jim or James, Hannah, Joe, Jack, Betsy and Tom, and also the children which may hereafter be born of the said Hannah and Betsy. And to my daughter I bequeath my negro wench called Sall, and also a negro woman called Nancy with her five children, which said Nancy was the property of the mother of my said children and intended by her for my said daughter and also the children who may hereafter be born of their bodies or the bodies of their children respectively. And as to all the remaining part of the personal property which I may die possessed of, including household furniture, cattle, horses, swine, poultry, money, grain and all other descriptions of personal property, and also all the cattle and other stock which was the property of my deceased wife Betsy, an Indian woman and the mother of my said children, and also the increase thereof, my will is that the same and every part thereof shall be equally divided between my said son and daughter share and share alike according to the judgment of my executors hereinafter named, except the utensils of husbandry, which I give to my said son James for his own proper use and benefit, and except also my negro slave Paul, whose

freedom I hereby bequeath to him for his long and faithful services.

And I do hereby nominate and appoint Mr. Leonard Scratch and Mr. James Stewart, both of the said Township, yeomen, Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made.

In witness whereof, I, the said James Girty, to this my Last will and Testament, have set my hand and seal this day of in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four, and in the forty fourth year of His Majesty's reign.

JAMES GIRTY [L. S.].

Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the said James Girty testator as and for his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us, who, at his request and in his presence and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses. T. McKee, T. Alex. Clarke, Geo. Ironside.

BB.

JOHN TURNER'S WILL.

[Ante, p. 382.]

In the name of God, Amen.

I, John Turner, of the Township of Peebles, County of Allegheny and State of Pennsylvania, yeoman, being weak in body but sound in memory, mind and understanding, blessed be the Almighty for the same, but considering the uncertainty of this life and the certainty of death do make and publish this my last will and testament in manner and form following: First of all I commend my soul into the hands of my God who gave it and my body to the earth to be buried in the burying ground on my own farm in a decent, Christian-like manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned.

Item first. As to my worldly affairs, it is my will and I do order that all my just debts and funeral Expences be duly

paid and satisfied as soon as it can be conveniently done after my decease.

2ndly. I give and bequeath the upper part of my tract of land where I now reside and adjoining the land I sold to John Patterson containing one hundred and thirteen acres be the same more or less to the children of John McCaslin and Priscilla his wife, only that they, said John McCaslin and Priscilla his wife, are to have and to hold the said tract of land with all the improvements thereon during their natural lives unless that death should occur to either the said John or Priscilla his wife and the survivor should marry again, then in such case their right, title, claim and interest shall expire and the said land so described become invested and divided equal share and share to each of said children as aforesaid the same as if both their parents were dead or deceased. I give unto my nephew Breden [Prideaux] Girty, son of Simon Girty, one thousand Dollars, unto my niece Sarah Girty alias Ssrah Munger one thousand Dollars, unto John Girty five hundred Dollars, being the son of Thomas Girty deed. I give unto Nancy Gibson, sister of John Girty, one hundred dollars, and one dollar to Catherine Bealer; and for the attendance and friendship I have received of Joseph Munger, I will and bequeath him five hundred dollars. I do reserve free of all encumbrance the burying ground for use of the public forever and when all my debts and funeral expences are paid and all the legatees are settled with, all of my effects whether personal, mixed, or real estate, shall be placed in the hands of Arthur F. Gore to be distributed as he shall think proper without any reserve.

Lastly. I nominate, constitute and appoint my much esteemed friends James Sutch and John Patterson to be my Executors of this my last will and testament hereby revoking all other wills, legacies and bequeaths by me heretofore made and declaring this my last will and testament.

In witness whereof, I have set my hand and seal the 10th day of April, 1840.

JOHN TURNER [*Seal*].

Signed, sealed in presence of us,

ABE HOSMER.

THOS. B. SUTCH.

CC.**SIMON GIRTY AND BOY PRISONERS.**

Much has been written about the kindness of Simon Girty to boy prisoners. But all these statements are to be taken with some grains of allowance. We have shown that, in his first incursion with the savages, he assisted in taking a number of children captives, among which, it is almost certain there were boys. These were, beyond all question, adopted into Indian families, and it is quite probable some of them led, ever after, the lives of savages. There was no kindness in this. In saving the life of young Baker (*ante*, p. 127), he performed a noble act—more so than when he rescued Simon Kenton from the stake; for there were no inducements except humanity moving him in the former case; in the latter he was befriending an old associate. So, for that act, he is entitled to credit; also for his kind treatment of young Fast (*ante*, p. 152). We will now relate an incident which certainly is not to Girty's discredit.

It may be mentioned that forays of the savages continued into the border settlements for a considerable time after DePeyster had let it be known among all the western tribes that hostilities must cease. "This moment," wrote Lieut.-Col. Stephen Bayard, from Fort Pitt, to Gen. Irvine, then at Carlisle, Pa., on the 5th of April, 1783, "I was informed by a man from the widow Myers' [in Westmoreland county, east of Pittsburgh], that one Thomas Lyon, who lived about four miles from her house, was yesterday killed and scalped." (Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 409.) Two of the children of the man killed, Eli and James, were captured and hurried into the Ohio wilderness. The savages who did this work were Delawares, and they soon reached Wingenund's camp on the Sandusky with their boy prisoners. (For the exact locality of that Delaware war-chief's camp, see *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky*, p. 168).

The youngest of the boys—James—in a narrative published by himself many years after, says :

“ The first town [Wingenund’s] we came to was small ; they [the warriors] had stretched my father’s and my sister’s scalps (as we thought one was my sister’s and the other my father’s, both had black hair), on small hoops painted red, and then attached them to long poles, also painted red. The Indians fired off their guns and raised the war-whoop, and held up the poles which had the scalps tied to them. A number of the Indians of the village came out to visit us and escorted us in. We had not been long in camp until they commenced smoking, and amongst those that visited us was a white man. Immediately on his coming into camp, I went up to him and he took me on his knee. I was glad to see a white man. He kept me all the time on his knee while he staid, and treated me kindly. When he got up to go away I wanted to go with him. He had no other way of getting me pacified but by promising to come and see me again, but that was the last I saw of him. My brother told me that he was Simon Girty, that he had seen him frequently at my grandmother Myers’ tavern, where we both often visited.”

The two boys were afterward sent in to Fort McIntosh, reaching that post in the winter of 1784–85, and delivered to their relatives in Westmoreland county. Their sister was not killed, as the boys had supposed, but their father was captured, taken into the woods and tomahawked. (Compare the Olden Time, Vol. II, pp. 87–92.) This treatment of James was a pleasant act of the renegade, but it will be noticed it only extended to caressing the boy a short time—he made no attempt to rescue the two from captivity.

“ I knew Simon Girty to purchase, at his own expense, several boys who were prisoners, take them to the British and have them educated.”—Jonathan Alder, cited in Howe’s Hist. Coll. of Ohio, p. 249. This is a very positive declaration, notwithstanding which, it is certainly error. Girty, in the Indian country, had no means wherewith to purchase “several boys who were prisoners,” nor had he the money to pay for

educating them. Besides, there were no schools nearer than the St. Lawrence for the education of children during that period.

Faint is the praise due Girty for treating young Burkhart kindly, while at the same time making a captive of him. And, so far as he knew, he was consigning him to years of savage life; for he did not believe, it will be remembered (*ante*, p. 210), that there was peace between the two countries when the boy was taken. And to young Spencer, he gave no hope of ever being released from captivity (*ante*, p. 270).

DD.

“SIMON GIRTY” IN A CYCLOPÆDIA.

Girty, Simon, leader of Indians, b. in Pennsylvania about 1750; d. about 1815. His father had died and his mother had married again, when in 1755 the whole family were taken captive by Indians, and the step-father was burned at the stake. Simon remained a prisoner till 1758, when he was released. In 1774 he was a soldier and spy under Lord Dunmore at Fort Pitt, and a friend and companion of Simon Kenton. Being an active loyalist, he left Pennsylvania at the beginning of the Revolution, became a leader of the savages, and was concerned in many atrocities. It is not known whether he was given a British commission. He had been held a prisoner by the Whigs, at Pittsburg, but escaped, collected about 400 Indian warriors, in the summer of 1777, and in September attacked Fort Henry (now Wheeling, W. Va.), which was garrisoned by about forty men. After defeating, with great slaughter, a reconnoitering party, and reducing the garrison to twelve men, he made a demand for its surrender, but was refused. The Indians now laid siege to the fort, but, as they had no artillery, the garrison held its own until it was relieved next day by forty mounted men. In 1778, with two other Tories, Girty went through the Indian country to Detroit, urging the savages to take up arms against the Ameri-

cans. He was present at the torture and death of Col. William Crawford, in 1782, and is charged with showing delight at his sufferings; but Girty averred that he did what he could to save Crawford's life. Subsequently, when his old associate, Simon Kenton, was captured by the Indians, Girty exerted himself to the utmost to save him from torture, and succeeded in effecting his release. In August, 1782, Girty invaded Kentucky and with 600 savages made an attack on Bryant's station, near Lexington, which was garrisoned by about fifty men. After an unsuccessful ambuscade Girty laid siege to the fort till the approach of re-enforcements under Daniel Boone caused him to retreat. He was rapidly pursued, and the battle of the Blue Licks followed, in which many of the Kentucky leaders lost their lives. This was the last great Indian battle on Kentucky soil. In the same year Girty was active in the expulsion of the Moravian missionaries who had been laboring quietly among the Wyandottes. He lived for some time on Sandusky river, where he had established a trading-station, and planned and led many marauding excursions. He was present at Gen. Arthur St. Clair's defeat in 1791, and directed a savage to kill and scalp Gen. Richard Butler, who lay wounded on the field. Girty acted as interpreter to the commissioners that were appointed by the U. S. government to meet the Indians in 1793, and treated them with insolence, finally securing the failure of the negotiations. He also aided the British in the war of 1812, and is said by some authorities to have been killed in the battle of the Thames, in 1813, while others say he died a natural death two years afterwards.—Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography (1887), Vol. II, p. 662.

EE.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, ALSO EXTRACTS FROM PRINTED ACCOUNTS,
CONCERNING THE GIRTYS.

I.

HOW LIEUT.-GOVERNOR HAMILTON RESTRAINED THE INDIANS.

[Ante, pp. 42, 342-344.]

“The opening of the Revolution brought evil times to the American frontiers. The Indians, supplied with English arms, and led by men in English pay, carried devastation everywhere. I am aware that bills authorizing the employment of Indians were repeatedly defeated in Parliament, and that British officers claimed that the natives were driven to war by the cruel wrongs inflicted on them by Americans; but these were the orders: ‘It is the King’s command that you should direct Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can, and placing a proper person at their head, to conduct their parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the *well-affected, inoffensive inhabitants*, employ them in making a diversion and exciting an alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania’ (Lord George Germaine to Sir Guy Carleton, March 26, 1776: Haldimand Coll.). Such proper persons as Simon Girty, William Lamothe, Joseph Brant, and others, were employed by Hamilton as leaders of these parties, and, in order to restrain them still further, he offered a premium for the scalps of Americans (Jefferson’s *Works*, Vol. I, p. 456).”—Dunn’s *Indiana*, p. 131. [Brant was not employed by Hamilton, and the latter did not offer a premium for scalps, but he *did* employ such *improper* persons as Girty and Lamothe “to restrain the Indians from committing violence on the well-affected and inoffensive inhabitants, as Dunn inferentially declares.”]

II.

"GIRTY'S TOWN."

[Ante, pp. 289, 290, 294, 295.]

"St. Mary's was from early times a noted point, being a village of the Shawnees. Gen. Wayne on his campaign camped here and called the place 'Girty's town,' from James Girty, a brother of Simon, who lived here with the Indians and gave his name to the place; Harmar was also here prior to Wayne. In the war of 1812, there was a fort at St. Mary's, which for a time, was the headquarters of Gen. Harrison. It was called Fort Barbee by the regiment of Col. Barbee which built it.

"There were four Girty brothers, Thomas, George, James and Simon. James was adopted by the Shawnees, George by the Delawares, and Simon by the Senecas. James was the worst renegade of them all and took delight in inflicting the most fiendish cruelties upon prisoners, sparing neither women nor children. Simon was the most conspicuous, being a leader and counsellor among the Indians."—Howe's Ohio (Centennial Edition), Vol. I, pp. 302, 303. [But "Girty's town" was not named by Gen. Wayne.]

III.

CLARK'S ATTACK ON THE SHAWANEE TOWN OF PIQUA.

[Ante, pp. 121, 122.]

"The action was so severe a short time before the close, that Simon Girty, a white man who had joined the Indians, and who was made a chief among the Mingoes, drew off three hundred of his men, declaring to them it was folly in the extreme to continue the action against men who acted so much like madmen, as Gen. Clark's men, for they rushed in the extreme of danger, with a seeming disregard of the consequences. This opinion of Girty, and the withdrawal of the three hundred Mingoes, so discouraged the rest that the whole body soon after dispersed."—Bradford's Notes on Kentucky. [The only statement in this account of the attack of Clark on

the Indian town of Piqua, that is not erroneous, is the one made, by inference, that Girty then had his home with the Mingoes.]

IV.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF SIMON GIRTY FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE TORTURING OF CRAWFORD.

[From Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 127.]

"Simon Girty was born on an island in the Susquehanna river in the then province of Pennsylvania, and when a boy was captured by the savages, and adopted by the Seneca tribe of Indians. He afterward returned to the settlements, locating at Pittsburgh. He fled to the enemy across the Ohio, along with Alexander McKee and others, in the spring of 1778. Arriving at Detroit, he was engaged in the Indian department and sent back into the Ohio wilderness with his headquarters among the Wyandots, upon the Sandusky river. He immediately entered upon a career of savage ferocity against the border settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky. He was in the battle of the 4th of June, 1782, between the volunteers under Crawford and the enemy, taking part with the latter, and was present . . . at the torturing of the unfortunate colonel. He had no commission in the British service. He and Crawford were well acquainted." The principal errors in this extract are (1), in giving Girty's birth-place as "on an island in the Susquehanna river," and (2), in stating by inference, that he went *at once* to live with the Wyandots after being "sent back into the Ohio wilderness."

V.

MAJOR WILLIAM CROGHAN'S RECOLLECTION OF WHAT DR. KNIGHT TOLD HIM AS TO GIRTY'S COURSE AT THE BURNING OF CRAWFORD.

"We had no certainty of this unhappy affair until yesterday, when Doctor Knight, who was taken with Crawford, came into the garrison, in the most deplorable condition man could

be in and be alive. He says that the second day after they were taken, they were carried to an Indian town, stripped and then blacked, and made to march through the Indians, when men, women and children beat them with clubs, sticks, fists, etc., in the most cruel manner.

"Colonel Crawford and the doctor were confined together all night. The next day, they were taken out, blacked again, and their hands tied behind their backs, when Colonel Crawford was led by a long rope to a high stake, to the top of which the rope about the colonel was tied. All around the stake a great quantity of red hot coals were laid, on which the poor colonel was obliged to walk barefoot, and at the same time the Indians firing squibs of powder at him, while others poked sticks (on fire) into every part of his body; thus they continued torturing him for about two hours, when he begged of Simon Girty, a white renegade, who was standing by, to shoot him, when the fellow said, 'don't you see I have no gun?' Some little time after this they scalped him, and struck him on the bare skull several times with sticks, and being nearly exhausted he lay down on the burning embers, when squaws put shovelsful of coals on his body, which, dying as he was, made him move and creep a little; the doctor was obliged to stand by to see this cruelty performed."—Croghan to William Davies, Virginia Secretary at War, July 6, 1782. See American Historical Record, Vol. I, p. 176; also Washington-Irvine Correspondence, p. 293, note. Compare pp. 180-182, ante.

VI.

FIRST PUBLISHED ACCOUNT OF SIMON GIRTYS BEHAVIOR AT THE TORTURING OF COLONEL CRAWFORD.

"Dr. Knight, who was taken with Col. Crawford arrived here after living for 21 days upon herbs in the woods. He says that five days after they were taken the Delaware Indians burnt the Col. with the most excruciating pain, first tied him to a long post with room to walk round it, then cut off his ears, after that blew squibs of powder on different parts of

his body ; then the squaws procured hickory brands and dar against such parts as they thought might most affect h. they then scalped him and slapped the scalp in the Dr.'s face, told him that was his big captain ; the Col. was still alive. This he thinks was an hour after the Col. was tied up, when he (the Dr.) was taken away. Just as he was leaving him the Col. leaned upon his knee and elbow for rest, when a squaw took a shovel of hot embers and threw upon his back to put him again in motion. The next day under the guard of one man the Dr. passed the same place and saw some of the Col.'s bones in the ashes. The Col., he says, made little noise ; he begged one Simon Girty, whom he formerly knew at Fort Pitt, to shoot him, but Girty said with a laugh he had no gun, that examples must take place."—*Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, July 23, 1782. (See *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 376, note).

VII.

INDIANS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE REVOLUTION.

[Ante, p. 133.]

"Both sides in the Revolutionary struggle tried to employ the Ohio Indians. The British were most active and most successful in this enterprise. A party of Wyandots under Simon Girty, an ugly-spirited ruffian who had been adopted by the Indians, and was now in British pay, made a memorable attack upon Fort Henry, on the Ohio near Wheeling, but was cheated of success and badly disabled after a desperate struggle during which young Elizabeth Zane performed an act of supreme heroism in securing a keg of powder from a point outside the fort."—*The Story of Ohio*, by Alexander Black, p. 74.

The United States, during the Revolution, employed savages against the British and Indians, it is true (see *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, pp. 25, 26), but they were engaged in the regular service ; they were never sent on forays into Canadian settlements, to kill inoffensive white settlers, as they were employed to do, by the British, on the American

border. As to the Elizabeth Zane incident mentioned by Black, there is a bitter controversy in the Pan-Handle concerning who was the heroine, and relative to the time when the affair took place. (Consult DeHaas, *Hist. Ind. Wars W. Va.*; Newton's *Hist. Pan-Handle, W. Va.*; and local histories of that region generally.)

VIII.

UPPER SHAWANEE TOWNS ON MAD RIVER, IN THE REVOLUTION.

[Ante, pp. 73, 79-84.]

Near a small creek emptying into Mad river, on the east side, there was a small Shawanese village, called Wapakoneta, in the present Salem township, Champaign county, Ohio, about two miles and a half south of the present West Liberty, in Logan county. The next town was Mac-a-cheek; then a small one called Pigeon town, on the west side of the river, three miles north-west of Mac-a-cheek; then Wapatomica, below what is now Zanesfield, a short distance; then Blue Jacket's town, on the site of the present Bellefontaine. Three miles north of the latter was a Delaware village—Buckongahelas'. About nine miles above Blue Jacket's village was Solomon's town. When it said (see p. 82, ante) that "there was no Wapakoneta in existence until long after the Revolution," reference is made to the present town of that name, the county-seat of Auglaize county, Ohio, where, after 1780, there was a Shawanese town. The Wapakoneta first mentioned above was an insignificant Shawanese village, having no council-house; and, therefore, it could not have been the town where Simon Girty first met Kenton in the Ohio wilderness.

IX.

THOMAS GIRTY DEALS WITH RICHARD AND WILLIAM BUTLER, IN 1768.

[Ante, p. 22.]

ALLEGHANY CITY, PA., *June 17th, 1875.*

DEAR SIR: In overhauling a box of old papers belonging to my grandfather, Major Craig, I found a day-book of Richard and William Butler, kept at Fort Pitt. In it is an

account against Thomas Girty. Supposing it might interest you, I enclose you a copy. There is no other date than 1768 to this account. Of course you know that Richard Butler was Gen. Butler, who fell at St. Clair's defeat, and that William was the Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment, in the Revolutionary war.

Yours, truly,

ISAAC CRAIG.

To C. W. Butterfield.

THOMAS GERTY

In acct. with RICHARD & WILLIAM BUTLER, Dr.

1768.	£
To a new gun stock 20s., to a lock 15s., to mounting 15s.,.....	2 10
" a new breech 6s., to a trigger 1s. 6d., to rifling 12s. 6d	1
" a trigger plate and pin 2s., to 3 wood screws at 18d.	4
" a hind sight 2s., to a silver fore do. 2s. 6d....	4 6
	<u>£ 3 18 6</u>

CONTRA.

By 100 lbs. old iron at 3d. per lb.	1 5
" 16 lbs. fall skins at 1s. 7d. per lb.....	1 5 4
" a bushel of potatoes @ 5s.....	5
	<u>2 15 4</u>

By balance due Richard & William Butler, £ 1 3 2

X.

"GIRTY'S ISLAND"—PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS.

[Ante, pp. 317, 318.]

a.

"Girty's Island is seven miles above Napoleon [O.], and comprises, as we are informed, about forty acres. The soil is remarkably prolific, and an extremely dense growth of veg-

etation is the result. [Simon] Girty's cabin was on the left bank of the river; and it is said that when he was apprehensive of a surprise, he would retire to the island, as the tiger to the jungle, with a sense of almost absolute security from his pursuers [a most nonsensical tradition]."

b.

"GIRTY'S ISLAND. Six miles from Napoleon, up the river [Maumee] is GIRTY'S ISLAND, so called from the Great Renegade [Simon Girty], who once lived in a cabin on the opposite shore. Between the village and the island is an uninterrupted succession of beautiful farms, in a high state of cultivation. No where does the Maumee present a more charming appearance than on the route to the island. The broad and deep current flows between high banks, which are crowned with a dense growth of willows, where foliage, at this season, is of the brightest green.

The island, we are informed, is about forty acres in extent. A small portion is cultivated, but much the greater part is a primeval wilderness. Viewed from the shore it would seem that neither bird nor beast could penetrate the tangled and interwoven masses of trees, shrubs, and vines which are nurtured by its fertile soil. Aside from its great natural beauty, that island will be interesting from its association."

XI.

CONCERNING JOHN TURNER.

[Ante, p. 245.]

"There is a curious matter relating to John Turner, *alias* 'Girty.' He died and is buried near here. After his death, it was in evidence in court, that he was a full brother of Thomas, Simon, James, and George Girty, and that his name 'Turner,' was adopted after Simon and his two brothers had made 'Girty' unpopular. I have very little doubt about the evidence being false. The descendants of Thomas Girty were trying to obtain John Turner's property from his adopted child, the defendant in the suit."—Isaac Craig to the author of this narrative, March 30, 1882, from Alleghany, Pa.

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ERRATA.

- Page 11. For "applies this method of giving," read "gives, in like manner," etc.
- " 16. Strike out, in foot-note, "also the Missouri Gazette, for May 7, 1814."
- " 19. For "Katapekōmen," each time, read "Katapecomen."
- " 24. Strike out "that" after "complain."
- " 57. For "to the Coshocton," read "to Coshocton."
- " 74. For "reaching Wapatomica," read "reached Wapatomica."
- " 98. Strike out the rest of the paragraph after the words "positively proven."
- " 120. For "without knowledge of Bird's or McKee's Official Report," read "without having seen Bird's or McKee's official correspondence."
- " 123. For "Official Report," read "Correspondence."
- " 130. For "But General Irvine did not," etc., read "General Irvine did not," etc.
- " 156. For "previous aggressions," read "previous aggression."
- " 182. For "killed by the Americans," read "killed of the Americans."
- " 236. For "Mack-a-cheek," read "Mac-a-cheek."
- " 258. For "March 1, 1784," read "April 19, 1785."
- " 273. For "— Blue Jacket's town; and of the Maumee," read "and of Blue Jacket's town on the Maumee, and down that," etc.
- " 310. For "after Harrisen," read "after Harrison."
- " 328. Strike out one of the quotation points after—Johnson's mounted men."
- " 332. For "McCasslin," read "McCaslin."
- " 336. For "Co. Johnson's mounted men," read "Col. Johnson's mounted men."
- " 346. The last "1779" should be "1777."
- " 350. For "any of the acts," read "most of the acts."
- " 353. For "from the truth," read "from the fact."
- " 354. Strike out—"The intelligence sent by Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, to Brodhead was not well kept."
- " 360. Strike out the words—"in the extract above."

